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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

YAKOVLEV SPEECH TO CONFERENCE OF MUSICIANS, CULTURAL LEADERS

PM051600 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Oct 86 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] A conference has been held at the CPSU Central Committee to examine progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Improve Concert Activity in the Country and Strengthen the Material-technical Base of Concert Organizations." Taking part in it were figures from the music world, leaders of concert organizations and educational institutions, ministers and chiefs of culture administrations, chiefs of culture sections of union republic communist party central committees and CPSU kraykoms and obkoms, and leaders of central ministries and departments, the mass media, and public organizations.

The report was delivered by V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture.

The conference was addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The period we have entered is a time of abrupt creative changes, expectations, and hopes, he said. But for these changes to come to fruition it is necessary to learn to work in many respects in a new way and to seek new approaches and new keys to the solution of the accumulated problems—not only in the economy and politics but also in the spiritual and moral sphere of society's life and in the very attitude to man.

The task of socioeconomic acceleration set by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum and the 27th party congress cannot be resolved without also accelerating the spiritual development and deepening the moral development of society. The role of art is invaluable in this respect. This covers very many things. Above all, it means instilling in the hearts of people, particularly young people, lofty social ideals and civic convictions and the sacred human quality of ideological commitment. It means instilling patriotism and love for the motherland, since it is from that feeling that civic qualities and a proprietorial and state-minded attitude to life and the common cause grow.

It means instilling Soviet internationalism, the spiritual cement which binds our multinational country into a single entity and involves the Soviet people

in the common fate of mankind. It means the need for the urgency of the democratization of all social life, which requires good upbringing, honesty, and a high degree of conviction and responsibility.

This is not easy to achieve. Especially in view of the fact that we are still under the effect of old stereotypes of thinking and behavior which have become part of people's life, to which they have got accustomed, which at times act as shackles and obstruct the quest for the most reasonable and most fruitful new ways. This is why freshness of thought, initiative in action, talent, education, ability to do one's job well, energy, and professionalism are becoming increasingly valuable in all spheres of life.

In all our deeds today--be they great or small, everyday or historic, material or spiritual--we have no right to lose sight even for a moment of the picture of the world in which we live. A world which is crowded, complex, dynamic but in conflict.

The modern world is becoming increasingly crowded and, in terms of communication, increasingly interconnected. To believe that in this world it will be possible to create some kind of a refuge, a retreat isolated from external influences, and to sit things out there in timid resignation is not just to succumb to illusions but also to doom oneself to defeat.

We need our own active, assertive stance. A stance which would ensure for us not only unconditional priority in our own home but also the steady strengthening of our musical influence on the world outside.

Art and information know no boundaries. Neither do antiart and disinformation. In this connection the speaker drew attention to the phenomenon of "mass culture," which, in the second half of the 20th century, has captured the key positions in capitalist society's spiritual life. This is an ideological and psychological aggression aimed at imposing false values steeped in ignorance. It is designed to arouse consumerist instincts, dehumanize and demoralize the masses, affirm an inverted system of values, and mold unthinking and soulless stereotypes of mundane mass consciousness which come to capitalism's rescue.

"Mass culture" actively and skillfully exploits people's natural desire for entertainment and leisure, but is oriented toward consumerist principles, the standardization of human feelings and thoughts, a philistine attitude to life and the world, a lack of civic awareness, and indifference.

In our country too, unfortunately, it has sprouted shoots, although not yet strong ones, in the sphere of song, popular music, television, literature, the theater, and the movies, and especially in the form of slavish imitation. This is manifested in phenomena alien to our traditions, such as the lowering of demands regarding the standard of cultural works. Strictly speaking, any toleration of the dissemination in our midst of alien morality and ethics not only does not help us advance but also leads to the dissipation of the good and great things which have been accumulated by art and the people over

the centuries. There are no objective preconditions for such a turn of events. And if we now talk about negative phenomena in that sphere, they are the direct result of our own omissions, shortcomings, and inaction.

It is said that there is a need for spectacular shows, a need for entertainment and attractions, particularly for young people. There can be no argument. There is a need for them. A great need. But everything boils down to the well known issue of quality. The concept according to which entertainment is held to be almost the main form of fruitfully occupying one's free time seems to be particularly rash. In actual fact, entertainment in bad taste is no better than any other drug. In some cases it lays claim to virtual leadership, to being the exhaustive factor in shaping young people's tastes, and has become a serious phenomenon of the age both esthetically and morally. It is necessary to study this fact comprehensively, from tested methodological positions, to derive a sufficiently objective attitude toward it, and to elaborate an esthetically correct and politically clear view on this problem.

We have in our society today a sizable stratum of perfectly literate and fully educated people who reject any slightly serious spiritual exercise. They read nothing but thrillers, go to see only controversial movies, and, out of all the musical genres, recognize only hard rock. Their cultural pretensions are aggressive and limited. They demand entertainment or some such thing, they are unwilling to fatigue themselves with serious thoughts and ardent passions, the satisfaction of the simplest needs has become habitual for them, and the sensation of any psychological comfort is dependent on these. They cultivate only the consumer inside them, and this is what the ideological adversary aims for, this is already the human factor with a negative sign.

There is another alarming feature in the development of the modern consumerist "mass culture": it is easier for hack work, trash, vulgarity, and mediocrity to thrive there than anywhere else. A kind of commercialist, mercenary trend is emerging whose representatives perceive art as a source of good earnings, leaving concern for the quality of spiritual nourishment further and further aside. It is incumbent upon us, no matter how difficult it may be, to recapture the space contaminated by Western-style "mass culture." We must wage a more purposeful, more consistent, and more fruitful struggle at the spiritual, esthetic, and psychological level, the level of mass awareness, and utilize the power of mass communications media to actively assert the socialist and truly humanist ideals of man and society. The situation developing in the world today is such that socialism alone is capable of preserving and developing the genuine values of civilization.

The utmost attention should be paid to artistic and philosophical tasks in concert activity. Problems of quality continue to be the main criterion which determines the approaches to the evaluation of concert activity. Artists must be helped to seek new paths in creative work, in means of expression, and in their striving to speak in their own unique language.

Our real ideological interests are ensured when, and only when, each individual concert and the entire system of concert activity assert our Soviet way of life and a democratic world understanding and world awareness, and when they promote spiritual health. All this, of course, has nothing to do with boredom and conventionalism. It is necessary to ennoble and humanize concert activity and the whole process of its organization.

Extreme importance attaches here to real attitudes toward talent or, to put it more mildly, individuality. Does individuality find it easy to exist in our art, and in musical art in particular? Do we not levy our greatest claims on individuality, striving by all means--at our very first encounter with it--to remold it, reduce it to a common denominator, and make it uniform? How many so-called voiceless popular singers did we have in the past? But their songs are alive. And any one of those "voiceless" singers would be recognized immediately, because their performances were fired by spirit and lofty meaning. But what is the situation today? A faceless performer can easily flutter from concert to concert; he is recognized as a professional. He suits everyone except the listener. And those who are even slightly different from the rest immediately come under cross fire. It seems that we want to "groom" everyone both literally and figuratively, to alter everyone.

How is it, incidentally, that icons and "martyrs of the faith" are created? Very simply. An artist may have only just started on his career in art, but he is already dragging a train of warnings: this, that, or the other is "not done." But the viewer or listener actually wants to see something new, something that is "not done," something that is not like all the familiar things; he wants to look at things, hear things, and understand them for himself. But often he lacks an opportunity to do this. The artist has already been held back, just in case, and the artificial aura of prohibition hangs over him for a long time.

This situation prevails not only in popular music but also the serious music genres. There are composers of works which have not seen a concert performance in years, and yet this very same aura of prohibition nurtures interest in their work. This is abnormal for the development of art.

The speech drew attention to problems of young people's musical education and stressed in this context the role and significance of propagandizing the best examples of the domestic and world musical heritage, folk art, and the outstanding works of Soviet music of all kinds without exception. It was noted that "prohibitions" in art cannot produce positive results. And that which is really bad, particularly in the field of popular music, will only die a natural death when it is ousted by the genuine and artistic. In actual fact, this applies equally to serious music.

It is not true that young people do not understand serious music, they are simply not taught to understand it. And we today, instead of seeking forms to work with young people, reproach them: tut-tut, what a shame that you don't like serious classical music or frequent philharmonic concert halls, but like discotheques and dancing instead. But what is being done specifically

to correct distorted tastes? Philharmonic evenings for young people, special television and radio programs--all these are still with us, like they were, incidentally, in the past. And we may have missed the opportunity because we are unable to think of a new form of musical propaganda or introduce fresh and original methods in it. Imagine, for example, what could have happened if, instead of an art critic carried away by his noble love for music and hearing nothing but his own voice, there had been popular music idols speaking from television screens about the classics, and composers using the classical forms speaking about the place and importance of light music. Maybe, in an atmosphere of argument or discussion, deliberating on the music by a symphony orchestra conductor or a leader of a popular vocal-instrumental group. Alas. We are almost totally lacking such an approach toward the cultivation of tastes.

The heroically difficult, tragic pages of the Great Patriotic War annals are forever alive in the people's memory. There is no need to speak about what this war meant to us, about the exertion of energy, will, and daily heroism it demanded. Just ask any veteran. Would we have won that war, styled Great not without reason, had it not been for the music and the songs that were played then? Many of them would probably reply: "Who knows," or maybe even quite categorically: "No." These emotional assessments do, of course, contain an understandable and excusable element of exaggeration, but they also include the highest appraisal of art by the people. A merited appraisal, which has become a moral yardstick for us. As regards the wartime songs, no one even bothered to ask: Will they not be defeated by the ideological adversary's musical output? No one bothered, because those songs genuinely met people's most fundamental spiritual requirements and were accepted by each and every one as their own songs. This is why they are still being sung, and not just in our country.

Let me cite two figures reflecting the scale of concert activity in just one year. There were 500,000 concerts attended by an audience of 140 million. Impressive. It appears that 1 in every 2 citizens--we now have 280 million--went to a concert once in that year. We love these expressions: one in two, one in three, one in four. But let us look at the other side of the coin, and suddenly we will see that the average statistical concert in our country was attended by 280 persons. This, when compared against the country's population, produces a completely different set of figures. Not 1 in every 2, but 1 in every 1 million. One of them attended while 999,999 persons did not see the inside of a concert hall. An audience of 140 million in 1 year--this means that the Soviet listener has been to a concert just once in almost two years. Here you have a specific, actual, human fact, here you have statistical juggling with figures, a specific illustration of that line in the party Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress which asked: "Does the living person not disappear in this swirl of figures and blanket statements?"

People often speak about the unhappy state of popular, mass song. Indeed, it is marked by much that is philistine, impoverished music and lyrics, rushed work, and drab imitation. All this arose from the vacuum created by the dearth of highly professional works, a dearth whose nature must be pondered both by our leading masters and by the Composers' and Writers' Unions.

At the 27th CPSU Congress there was talk about the role of creative unions in the life of art and of society as a whole. It was, however, simultaneously emphasized that the main result of their work is measured not in terms of resolutions and sessions but in terms of talented works capable of enriching the people's spiritual life.

A strange picture emerges at times. Loud discussions, loud statements in the press and from rostrums, and yet life is dominated by trivial subject matter, triteness, and tastelessness. And yet, an artist's main platform is provided by his creative work, be it his song, symphony, or oratorio. This means that they are lacking. And when one thing is lacking, something else emerges. After all, numerous vocal groups, many of which have been perfectly legitimately criticized for poor standards of performance, have thrived in the soil of musical vacuum at a time when professional popular music failed to keep up with changing tastes. Tastes do change and the young people who make up these vocal-instrumental groups and for whom they play are mobile people who love new rhythms and follow musical fashion. Fashion in music is not, of course, a determining factor, but it does exist in reality. Why pretend that it does not?

We are, of course, depressed by the lyrics of some young people's songs. But this is perhaps something for which amateur poets should be pitied rather than blamed. They have, even if clumsily, at least attempted to ponder the problems existing in real life. And in this they are ahead of many professional poets and composers. This is also life, life's reality. This is an original protest by young people against the pomposity, smarm, and anodyne nature of many songs written for young people. This provides all of us with food for thought, in order to ensure that creative work by and for young people is in line with the time and its tasks. We must strengthen young people's faith in our ideals, trust them, and help them grow. Their art, and art for them, must be a bearer of the truth so that the loftiest ideas defining our moral values become requirements, so that these ideas inspire and lead forward.

We speak much about young people, about the need to cultivate their tastes. There was talk about this also at the last composers' congress. Various organizational measures were suggested: extradepartmental activity, coordination of efforts--all of which is, of course, necessary. But let us heed the opinion of Mikis Theodorakis, who was a guest at the last congress. He said: "Would it not be better to ask why young people do not always understand us? There may be some underestimation of young people's need to express themselves in their own way, in some new fashion, to say that which perturbs them." And he went on: "If we have a direct and effective link with the people and the young people, then we will definitely find correct ways of contact and correct modern aesthetic expressions; otherwise we will

fall into the arms of Western commercial art." Briefly speaking, musical triteness must be combated not by prohibitions but by music whose purpose is to squeeze out all imitations, all the forgeries of music and of modernity. Is it not logical to counter lack of spirituality with spirituality and emptiness with fullness? It is logical.

But the situation cannot be put right just by words and slogans, and musical creativity itself again comes to the fore. This means that the efforts by all organizations and departments on which music's promotion among the masses depends must be aimed at creating that atmosphere of creativity and those incentives for creativity which would help the appearance of words capable of captivating people and becoming genuine assets of art.

We have learned to organize all kinds of festivals, competitions, and auditions in such a way that everything at them is decided in advance. Juries are, as a rule, selected in such a way as to ensure that they reach the agreed decision--not in the process of reviewing the discussing, but beforehand. Everything seems to be bureaucratically managed. Does this not undermine the very essence of competitions, the context of talents, the rivalry of ideas? Of what and of whom are we afraid? Could the prestige of our genuine musical values be so low that we have to uphold them administratively? This can be engendered only by a lack of faith in our own strength, or an atmosphere where publicity and open discussion of creative affairs are absent, the dominance of one set of subjective tastes over others. This does not become us.

Music accompanies people everywhere: in everyday life, in leisure, even at work. People of different ages, different levels of culture, different tastes, and different linguistic and other traditions listen to it. For that reason if no other it cannot be uniform either in genre or in its other features. Except in one--quality, which, as is well known, depends not on the genre but on the author's talent and professionalism and on his degree of understanding of his artistic and civic responsibility. There can be no "high" or "low" genres since there are no good or bad genres, there is only good or bad music.

Having analyzed the state of present-day concert work, the speaker went on to stress that its "coefficient of useful action" is significantly reduced by the lack of coordination which exists in the "composer-performer-audience" interaction. The reasons here are varied. Above all, there is the certain detachment that exists between the creative work of some authors and the needs of the time and the demands of the mass audience, and there are sometimes manifestations of elitism too. If we look at the accounts, it appears that countless symphonies, oratorios, operas, musicals, and works in other genres have been created. And not only created, but already purchased by the Ministry of Culture for performance. Since they have been purchased, one is to suppose that all these are high-quality works. But a vast quantity of works that have been purchased are never performed. For whom are they composed then? For the purchasing commission?

If we were to investigate the matter, we would see before us a typical example of exaggerated reporting based on the same old principle of bulk. This provides a screen to cover defects not only of a material but also of a moral and, bluntly speaking, political nature.

Let us look at the geographical aspect of concert activity. Here, too, the abundance of figures makes it clear that the lion's share of the accounts originates from major centers. We seem to be covering the country's territory on all-union, republic, or oblast scales. And yet, when we come to specific towns and villages, it appears that there is barely a glimmer of concert life there, let alone any sort of service for residents, construction workers, and oil field workers in the North, Siberia, and the Far East. There really are many problems here. But there is even more inertia, sluggishness, and the inability to organize matters in such a way that the system of concert activity becomes flexible and takes people's interests into account. This, incidentally, is also a matter of social justice.

Mention must be made of aspects of the problem such as the professionalism and standard of performance of many concerts. We are proud of our outstanding artistic collectives and soloists. However, by no means all concerts reach such a level, and this applies particularly to artistic groups performing for children in the countryside.

It is more than six months since the resolution on concert activity was published. But so far the improvements have been few. Not enough concerts can be deemed an event in cultural and social life. Cultural organs and leaders of concert organizations hardly ever initiate the creation of interesting programs or new forms of work with audiences.

Many problems in the sphere of organizing concert activity stem from the fact that its forms have ossified and have not changed for decades. Philharmonic societies use every permitted means, and often some that are not permitted, to "massage" the plan, and we seem to close our eyes to the fact that the possibility of financial irregularities and abuses is embedded in the imperfection of the very system of planning and financing concert organizations and the system for accounting and for paying artists. Thus, the main task to be resolved as a matter of urgency is to formulate a viable management structure and a system of planning and finance for concert tour work. Qualitative criteria for philharmonic societies' activity have not yet been formulated.

We urge the great masters to take art to the masses; indeed, they cannot conceive of their activity without meetings with the widest possible audience. But sometimes at local level performers are not provided with the basic conditions for creative work and everyday life. Why must an artist endure great inconvenience before performing in front of people; why is it so hard to establish order in a matter which does not require great efforts? All it needs is a basic standard of interpersonal relationships and official responsibility.

Not so long ago, our most eminent pianist Svyatoslav Tikter made a concert tour of cities in Siberia and the Far East. He was greatly impressed by Siberia itself and by people who came to the concerts. He described this emotionally in a newspaper interview, but also remarked that there was not a single concert hall where he found a properly tuned grand piano. Does this not say something about local philharmonic societies' attitude toward work?

The role and responsibility of artistic councils and primary party organizations in devising new programs, shaping repertoire policy, improving artists' professional skill, and establishing a favorable moral climate in the collectives have clearly been undermined.

The CPSU Central Committee has recognized the need to considerably strengthen the material and technical base of musical culture. In the next decade it is planned to build 42 concert halls, hundreds of culture houses, and thousands of clubs in the country. The USSR Ministry of Culture and local organizations face a responsible task: to produce good modern plans which take account of experience here and in foreign countries, and to provide halls with modern equipment.

All these questions concerning concert activity must be solved as a package. When we manage to do this, when each and every one--from budding performer to a virtuoso, from an instructor at the Komsomol raykom to the first secretary of the USSR Composers' Union, from the rayon club to the Union Ministry of Culture--is clearly and accurately aware of what must be done by them and when, and when there is will and determination to march forward regardless of all the difficulties that may have to be overcome--it is then and only then that it will be possible to speak about positive results from this conference and the numerous press discussions and mainly about the results of specific actions by all interested persons and institutions. And interested is the key word. Interested not as a matter of mere official duty, but prompted by conscience and civic self-awareness; let us not even talk about the fact that at times we encounter in concert activity an interest of a completely different kind, a flawed and purely commercial interest.

All interested organizations and departments must clearly determine their place in the restructuring of concert work and do their utmost to ensure that viewers and listeners sense real improvements in its content. It is time to move from words to deeds and to prove in practice their understanding, sincerity, and right to tackle this noble work.

And let us not forget the main criterion which is, generally speaking, clear and simple: Tomorrow Soviet people must lead a better, fuller, and spiritually richer life than today. This is the social meaning of acceleration. This yardstick will be used to evaluate the efficiency and responsibility of our art.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KARAGANDA SOVIET BLASTED FOR POOR RESPONSE TO CITIZEN REQUESTS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 86 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On the practice of receiving citizens and resolving the questions posed by them at the Soviets of People's Deputies of Karaganda Oblast and its subordinate agencies.

The resolution adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on this question notes that the oblast Soviets of People's Deputies, under the leadership of party agencies, have intensified their work on mobilization of the workers toward fulfilling the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Bringing to life the party line on developing socialist democracy, the Soviets of People's Deputies have begun to consider to a greater degree the opinions of the citizens and their proposals on questions of improving the work of the soviet and economic management organs and strengthening law and order. The local Soviets, as should be the case, ascribe great importance to work on organizing and conducting the reception of citizens, including meetings held directly at the labor collectives and at places of residence. The discussions of results of investigations into the status of work with citizen proposals, reports and complaints which are held at sessions and meetings of executive committees and permanent Soviet commissions facilitate the increased responsibility of officials for the review of worker requests.

Many Soviet deputies exhibit high activity and achieve attentive investigation of the complaints and appeals of citizens. Thus, the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, the asbestos cement products plant, and certain other enterprises in the oblast are effectively reacting to the needs and requests of the workers and are trying to resolve social-domestic questions in a timely manner. As a result, the number of complaints from the workers of these collectives is systematically being reduced, and there are almost no appeals to superior agencies.

At the same time, a familiarization with the state of affairs in Karaganda Oblast has shown serious shortcomings in the work of the Soviets and their subordinate agencies in terms of receiving citizens and resolving their appeals. The ispolkom administrators of various city and rayon Soviets and of enterprises and organizations under the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, USSR

Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, and Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction disregard the established order of making personal appointments. They do not take the necessary measures to properly resolve appeals and complaints, exhibiting formalism and red tape in their actions. In a number of cases they present unreliable information to higher state agencies regarding the results of their investigations into the requests.

A principle evaluation is not always given to cases of gross disruption in the order of receiving citizens and in resolving their problems. There is no efficient control over the implementation of decisions made on the complaints and appeals. This has a negative effect on executive discipline. The deputies are not involved enough in examining the requests of the citizens.

The Soviets of People's Deputies of Karaganda Oblast still do not realize in full measure the authority granted to them in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Measures for Further Increasing the Role and Strengthening the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socio-Economic Development in Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress." They are not utilizing the reserves for increasing the effectiveness of social production and for developing the social sphere as the main means for satisfying the needs and demands of the citizens.

Over half of all the appeals concern housing questions. Nevertheless, despite this fact and despite the complexity of the indicated problem, the executive committees of the oblast Soviets give far too little attention to housing construction and reconcile themselves to its low quality. The state capital investments allocated for this purpose, as well as the funds of housing construction cooperatives are systematically not assimilated. In the past five-year plan, the plan for construction of residential houses in the oblast was only 70 percent fulfilled. The construction and repair of the departmental housing fund is being conducted in an unsatisfactory manner. In the years 1981-1985 the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and a number of other ministries in the oblast have not provided for the operational introduction of residential housing with an overall area of over 630,000 square meters. The situation also remains unchanged in the current year. The plan for introduction of housing at the "Karagandaugol" Production Association for 1986 comprised 82 percent of the plan for 1983.

A considerable number of the appeals by citizens are associated with gross infractions of housing legislation and with abuses in housing assignments. In connection with this, a number of administrators and other officials have been relieved of their duties and held accountable. The ispolkoms of certain Soviets do not implement necessary control over the timely occupancy of residential houses which are introduced into operation.

A large number of complaints are received in connection with the weak management by the Soviets over the work of enterprises, institutions, organizations, communal farms, domestic services, transport, trade, public dining, culture and social provision.

Justifiable complaints of citizens are caused by omissions in the operation of public health agencies and institutions, by a low level of diagnosis and treatment of patients, by difficulties in obtaining specialized medical aid, and by the unsatisfactory state of many treatment institutions. The funds allocated for the construction and repair of hospitals and polyclinics are also not fully assimilated. The operation of the emergency medical aid services is also not organized as it should be.

The appeals by citizens concerning the pollution of the air and water basins are permeated with serious alarm. Many enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, and Kazakh SSR Ministry of Power and Electrification do not show the proper state approach to ensuring the improvement in the sanitary state of the environment. The oblast's Soviets and their executive and directive agencies are not exacting enough to economic managers who disregard environmental protection legislation.

Many complaints by citizens are the result of serious shortcomings in the operation of communications enterprises, gross disruptions in the order of telephone installations, frequent accidents along the lines, and low quality and culture of servicing.

The oblast's Soviets are weak in stimulating increased social activity of the labor collectives. Little attention is given to questions of rational application of labor resources. A significant number of able-bodied citizens are not involved in production, which causes the justifiable censure by the workers.

The Soviets do not draw the necessary conclusions from the numerous reports of workers regarding various instances of lawbreaking. They do not fully utilize their rights in ensuring law and order in their territory. They have not established the necessary interaction with the law enforcement agencies, which react in an untimely and not always effective manner to cases of lawbreaking and infractions of the public interest protected by the law.

Gross infractions of labor legislation are tolerated in the oblast. In connection with this, over half of those who have been dismissed and appealed to the people's courts are reinstated. At times even the executive committees of some Soviets make decisions which do not conform to existing legislation. The struggle against persons who lead an anti-social way of life has been weakened.

The oblast's Soviets of People's Deputies have still not provided for the necessary level of organizational and educational work on eradicating drunkenness and alcoholism, or implemented the necessary control over adherence to the requirements of anti-alcohol legislation.

Legal propaganda is not always conducted in a goal-oriented manner in the oblast, and information on the order of review of proposals, appeals and complaints is poorly organized.

All these shortcomings force the citizens to turn to the local agencies in authority and, not obtaining a solution to the questions concerning them or the implementation of adopted decisions, to direct their complaints to the

republic and union organs. In the last 3 years alone, the number of appeals received by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from citizens of Karaganda Oblast has increased by more than 5 times.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium pointed out to the executive committee of the Karaganda Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies the need for correcting problems within the oblast's Soviets of People's Deputies and their subordinate agencies. These problems consist of shortcomings in the organization of personal consultations with citizens, in the resolution of the questions which they raise, and in work on identifying and eradicating the reasons for the complaints. [The Presidium also called for] unswerving adherence to legislative requirements in examining proposals, appeals and complaints.

It was noted that the executive committee of the Karaganda Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has called to account the officials who are guilty of gross disruption of the established order of receiving citizens and reviewing their appeals.

It was suggested that the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets of People's Deputies of the republic do the following: increase the efficiency of work on consulting with citizens by means of full utilization of the rights and capacities of the Soviets of People's Deputies and the labor collectives in resolving the questions posed by the citizens; involve the Soviet deputies, deputy groups and positions at enterprises and organizations in reviewing the appeals and controlling the actual fulfillment of the decisions made on them; decisively overcome irresponsibility and bureaucratism; consider the recommendations and opinions of the labor collectives in resolving the proposals, appeals and complaints of citizens on questions of housing construction, children's institutions, organization of public services and amenities, and improvement in the operation of enterprises in trade, consumer services, transport and communications, as well as of public health and educational institutions; systematically inform citizens and labor collectives of the order of review of the proposals, appeals and complaints, as well as of the rights of state and public agencies and of the work of the Soviets.

The necessity of taking measures directed at a more active participation of their subordinate enterprises and organizations in the oblast's socio-economic development and in environmental protection was pointed out to the executive committee of the Karaganda Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, and other interested ministries.

12322
CSO: 1800/127

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PARTY CONTROL COMMITTEE CITES DEFICIENCIES IN AKTYUBINSK OBLAST

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] On the serious shortcomings in the performance of individual heads of party, soviet and economic agencies of Aktyubinsk oblast in preparing the economy for winter operation.

The Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee considered the issue of serious shortcomings in fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decree regarding preparing the economy for operation during the fall-winter period of 1986-1987 in Aktyubinsk Oblast.

The Committee notes in the adopted decree that individual heads of oblast party, soviet, trade union, and economic agencies, enterprises and organizations have demonstrated a lack of discipline in fulfillment of this decree. Instead of utilizing specific and energetic means to prepare all sectors for stable, uninterrupted operation over the winter, they have continued in their old ways, busying themselves with the contrivance of all sorts of [organizational] measures, holding conferences and meetings, allowing work to proceed in sporadic bursts, failing to support timely and high quality performance of assigned tasks, and failing to address the pressing issues of future planning.

An intolerable situation has arisen with regard to preparing housing for the winter, with a fourth of all apartments requiring capital repair, and a significant portion being in a dilapidated, broken-down condition. The oblast housing and utilities administration has not organized matters adequately. Only half of the capital and routine repairs on housing blocks targeted in the plan have been performed, and even these have not completed properly. The special-purpose repair organizations created for this purpose have utilized a third of their production program on projects not directly related to housing. Many housing blocks in the city of Aktyubinsk, as well as in the Alginskiy, Novorossiyskiy, Oktyabrskiy, and a number of other rayons, have still not had work performed to provide heating in basements, attics, stairwells, entrances, and passages.

The pace at which power facilities are being prepared for winter is also slow. At the time the audit was performed, one fifth of all boiler installations

were found not ready to deliver heat. The equipment of the Aktyubinsk central heat and electric plant is in unsatisfactory condition, the heating units are unreliable and cannot provide the full amount of heat needed by consumers of the oblast center. Through the fault of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Power and Electrification [Minenergo], issues related to the reconstruction of the central heat and electric plant have long been left unresolved.

Much of the necessary work has not yet been performed on the main heating lines and distribution system; thermostats have still not been installed in many heating systems. Reliable operation of the water-supply and sewage systems has not been ensured. The poor states of repair of these systems, and the poor quality of the maintenance work done on them has led to wide-spread breakdowns. There have been delays in putting new power capacities into operation in industrial enterprises.

The issue of providing a stable supply of electricity to the enterprises has not been resolved. Approximately 70 percent of the electrical systems were designed to meet the old performance standards and do not provide reliable electric power to consumers, especially in rural rayons, where approximately 1000 emergency shut-offs occur each year. The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Power and Electrification (T. Kh. Musagaliyev, deputy minister) is not taking necessary measures to accelerate the replacement of old electric lines. Many livestock facilities have still not been connected to the central electrical supply.

The enterprises and organizations of the agroindustrial complex (A.I. Shukhovtsov, chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee) have not laid in the stipulated stores of fuel for the needs of the economy and population. Only a third of the appropriated funds for coal have been utilized. A significant proportion of those living in their own homes have not been supplied with fuel.

The situation in the livestock breeding industry is extremely bad, with more than a third of the shelters still not ready to house livestock for the winter. In some rayons the supply of feed is less than half of what is needed, while in the oblast as a whole no more than 70 percent of the required feed has been stocked.

The transportation industry is also not completely ready for winter conditions. In the Aktyubinsk Department of the West Kazakhstan Railroad, neither the repair of rails nor of rolling stock has been completed. In the motor transport administrations only half of the trucks are ready for winter; one third of the vehicles have not been provided with heated garages or devices for warming up their engines.

Comrade I. Kh. Drozhkin, deputy chairman of the ispolkom of the party Soviet of People's Deputies, who had personal responsibility for preparing the economy for the winter, failed to ensure accomplishment of the relevant measures, as stipulated by the decision of the Party Obkom and Oblispolkom Bureau, and was too lenient with the heads of economic organizations and enterprises, thus allowing preparations to break down.

Having noted the serious shortcomings in fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's decree concerning preparing the economy for operation during the fall-winter period, as well as the slow progress being made in restructuring the relevant activities of oblast party, soviet, and economic agencies in accordance with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's Plenums, the committee took cognizance of the statement of comrade V. V. Milov, secretary of Aktyubinsk obkom of the Kazakh SSR Communist Party. This statement contends that the oblast party committee, drawing the required conclusions from the results of the audit, is increasing the personal responsibility of leaders for the state of readiness for winter in each city and rayon, each enterprise and organization, and is mobilizing all the efforts of the heads of party, soviet, trade union and economic organizations and labor collectives to ensure the stable, uninterrupted operation of the economy during the winter.

The CPSU Central Committee's Control Committee reprimanded comrade I. Kh. Drozhzhin, CPSU member and deputy chairman of the Aktyubinsk oblast Soviet of People's Deputies ispolkom for failure to ensure the performance of measures to prepare the oblast economy to operate during the fall-winter period and for being too lenient with managers of economic enterprises and organizations who permitted the accomplishment of these measures to break down.

Comrade T. Kh. Musagaliyev, CPSU member and Kazakh SSR deputy minister of energy and electrification, was reprimanded for the unsatisfactory maintenance of rural electric lines and for failure to provide a stable supply of electricity to consumers of the agricultural-industrial complex in the Aktyubinsk oblast.

The committee sternly rebuked comrade Sh. Shardarbekov, Kazakh SSR minister of housing and utilities, for failure to adequately monitor preparation of Aktyubinsk Oblast housing and utilities for the winter, and for failure to pay the required attention to issues relating to improvement of the state of repair of housing.

The attention of comrade A. K. Izbagambetov, deputy chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, was drawn to the fact that livestock shelters are in a poor state of readiness for the winter, to the fact that the plans for stocking up on feed have not been fulfilled, and to the absence of the winter reserves of fuel required to meet the needs of agricultural facilities and of the population.

The Aktyubinsk obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, the oblispolkom, Ministry of Power and Electrification, Ministry of Housing and Utilities and the State Agricultural Industry of the Kazakh SSR were tasked to take the urgent measures needed to eliminate the shortcomings found by the audit in the readiness of the oblast economy to operate over the winter period.

9285
CSO: 1830/118

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

BSSR CC BURO STRESSES ROLE OF SOVIETS IN ACCELERATION

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Sep 86 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Committee Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party"]

[Text] In a routine session, the Central Committee Buro of the Belorussian Communist Party reviewed the issue of organizing to implement the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Soviet of Ministries "On Measures for Further Increasing the Role and Reinforcing the Accountability of the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

The decree adopted on this issue emphasizes that the executive committees of oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and rural Soviets of People's Deputies, exercising the rights granted to them, are called upon to focus their main attention on organizational work to mobilize labor collectives and the population to accelerate intensive economic and social development by bringing out and putting into action local reserves and resources and the initiative and energies of the deputies and all workers. They are charged with ensuring that the activities of associations, enterprises, and organizations, regardless of subordination, are directed toward increasing production, expanding variety and improving the quality of consumer goods, and increasing the efficiency of subsidiary farms of associations, enterprises, and institutions to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the labor collectives. The Central Committee Buro of the Belorussian CP has obliged the executive committees of local soviets, ministries, and departments to develop and carry out in the 12th 5-year plan a system of measures to improve radically medical, shopping, cultural, and everyday services for labor and war veterans, families of soldiers who have died, invalids, and the elderly. The complete fulfillment of the needs of the pre-school child population is stipulated.

The attention of the Administration of Affairs of the BSSR Soviet of Ministries, BSSR Gosplan, and other state organs has been directed to the necessity of rendering more active assistance to the work of the local soviets, and rendering support and sharing experience so that each soviet can ensure, in practice, systematic and efficient conduct of the local

economy and can bear responsibility for the resolution of other matters of local importance.

A resolution of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the BSSR Soviet of Ministries has been adopted to create the capacity to preserve fruit, vegetable and potato production for trade and public consumption needs in the years 1986-1990.

The BSSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee], the Belorussian Cooperative Union, obispolkoms, and the Minsk Gorispolkom have been tasked to build storehouses for potatoes, vegetables and fruit using state capital investments and the combined resources of industrial enterprises.

The Central Committee Buro of the Belorussian CP also reviewed the issues of party organizational work and economic activities.

13254/12858
CSO: 1800/116

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

BSSR CC BURO NOTES SHORTCOMINGS IN BREST OBLAST

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 26 Sep 86 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At its regularly scheduled session the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro considered the question of the work done by the Brest Belorussian CP Obkom on strengthening the link between science and production in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. In the adopted resolution it was stated that the party oblast committee was not paying the necessary attention to accelerating scientific and technical progress in the intensification of the national economy. The party oblast committees have not been exerting the proper mobilizing influence on the activities of the scientific, planning and design, and production groups with regard to solving the problems of modernization and retooling of enterprises.

There is no system for utilizing the achievements of science and technology in such science-intensive sectors as electronics, electrical engineering, instrument-building, and machine-tool building.

The Brest Scientific-Production Association for Agriculture has not been paying sufficient attention to increasing the operational effectiveness of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The schools here have not begun to introduce the advanced experience and scientific achievements of the support-pilot farms. Despite considerable capital investments, the productivity of land reclamation operations has remained low.

The Central Comm'tee Buro has demanded that the party obkom and the ispolkom of the oblast-level Soviet of People's Deputies take urgent measures with regard to strengthening the link between science and production, and concentrating the existing scientific and technical potential for solving the key problems of increasing labor productivity, improving product quality, and stepping up organizational and political indoctrination work with personnel.

The party obkom and obispolkom, in conjunction with Gosplan, Gosagroprom [State Committee for Agro-Industry], the Academy of Sciences, and the Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions of this republic, have been assigned the task of working out a comprehensive plan for the scientific and technical development of this oblast for the 12th Five-Year Plan and to the year 2000, as well as providing within it measures for concentrating the existing scientific and technical potential for solving key regional problems.

Taking into account the evaluations and conclusions of the present obkoms of the CPB have been assigned the task of reviewing the questions of providing scientific-technical support and personnel for the national economy of the region, and of working out prior to 1 July 1987 comprehensive plans for the scientific and technical development of the oblasts for the 12th Five-Year Plan and to the year 2000.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro examined the work done by the party organization and management of the Gomselmash [Gomel Agricultural Machinery Association] with regard to raising the technical level and improving the quality of the combines being turned out. Despite the criticisms uttered at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 30th CPB Congress, the party committee and administration of this association have been restructuring their work extremely slowly; as before, the KSK-100 fodder-harvesting combines have a poor reliability in operation.

The technical refurbishing of production lines and the introduction of progressive technologies have been proceeding at too slow a pace. The design solutions fail to take sufficiently into account the prospects for developing fodder-harvesting equipment. Work on creating the Polesye Combine--one which is new in principle--is proceeding too passively.

The economic subdivisions have been inconsistent in their introduction of new forms for the stimulation of high-quality work. The existing system of providing material incentives for work quality is inoperative at a number of production facilities. The wages of the skilled workers, engineers, and technicians have not been made directly dependent on the quality of the work.

The party committee and the administration of the association have become reconciled with the existing shortcomings; they have not manifested a persistence in affirming within the labor group an atmosphere of creativity, high principles, and self-criticism. The high, exacting standards toward communist managers who have manifested an attitude of inertia, and who have not disavowed their parasitical attitudes, have been lowered. The party committees at plants and production lines have been under-estimating the importance of the human factor; they have not utilized to the fullest extent the various forms of working with people.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has recognized the unsatisfactory status of the work of the party organization and the management of the Gomselmash Production Association with regard to raising the technical level and improving the quality of the products being turned out; it has demanded an acceleration of the restructuring of their activity, and the adoption of additional measures to eliminate the shortcomings.

The session examined the progress of accounts and elections in this republic's primary party organizations. It was noted that the meetings for the most part are proceeding in a business-like way, in a highly exacting, critical atmosphere, and with a high degree of activity by the communists. Nevertheless,

certain party committees and organizations are poorly directing their accounts-and-elections campaigns to eradicate obsolete working methods, to increase the responsibility of personnel for bringing up matters in labor groups, for failing to overcome self-satisfaction, formalism, malfeasances, drunkenness, and other violations of the norms and principles of socialist morality and public order. The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro has obligated the party committees to improve the control of accounts and elections, to adopt measures to ensure the conduct of every meeting at a high organizational and political level.

The session also discussed certain other questions of intra-party life.

2384

CSO: 1800/118

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LiSSR CC BUREO INTENSIFIES STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEARNED INCOME

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Oct 85 p 1

[Article: "In the Bureau of the Central Committee of the LiSSR Communist Party"]

[Text] In its regularly scheduled session the Bureau of the Central Committee of the LiSSR Communist Party discussed the work of party, soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs, as well as that of the republic's public organizations with regard to implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Measures to Intensify the Struggle against Unearned Income." In considering this question, it was noted that there have been substantial shortcomings in the work of carrying out the above-mentioned resolution in the republic.

The Bureau demanded that party gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, ministries and departments, the LRSPS [Lithuanian Republic Trade-Union Council], and the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Komsomol adopt decisive measures for activating the struggle against unearned income, ensuring closely interconnected action by party, soviet, economic, trade-union, Komsomol, and law-enforcement organs. The main efforts must be directed at combatting thefts, bribe-taking, black-marketeering, extortion, and other mercenary crimes, and, above all, at eliminating the causes and conditions which engender them.

We must increase the responsibility of the primary party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, as well as labor groups and their leading officials for maintaining the struggle against the extraction of unearned income and creating a situation whereby any violations and such acts would not be tolerated.

The procuracy, ministries of internal affairs and justice, and the Supreme Court of this republic, along with the appropriate organs in the localities, have been assigned the task of decisively improving their work with regard to discovering persons who are receiving unearned income or evading socially useful work. They must also ensure that the effective measures provided by the law are unwaveringly applied to such persons.

The editors of the republic-level and local newspapers and journals, the LiSSR Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio], and ELTA [Lithuanian Telegraph Agency] must continue a multi-faceted and in-depth elucidation of the problems involved in combatting unearned income. They should pay particular attention to propagandizing the positive experience gained in cities and rayons, as well as within labor groups, with regard to overcoming this phenomenon. All forms

of indoctrinational work should be utilized to develop in people a profound respect for, and a readiness to engage in, self-sacrificing work for the common good, to engage in rational consumption, and to refuse to tolerate a private-ownership psychology or manifestations of self-seeking and acquisitiveness. They must provide extensive publicity for the results of the struggle against unearned income and for measures which are being adopted to eradicate it.

The Buro considered the question of organizing the reception of citizens in certain party, soviet, economic, and other organizations situated in Vilnius.

The Vilnius Party Gorkoms and Raykoms, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of this republic, the Lithuanian republic-level Trade-Union Council, the republic's People's Control Committee and procuracy, the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Komsomol, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, as well as ministries and departments, have been assigned the task of taking the necessary measures to eliminate shortcomings in the organization of the reception of citizens, to ensure that the established procedure for receiving the public is precisely observed by state organs and by the leading officials of enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Party gorkoms and raykoms must establish monitoring controls over the organization of the reception and disposition of oral appeals by citizens in the soviet, trade-union, and economic organs. They must not tolerate any instances of formalism, ineffectiveness, or a negligent attitude toward this matter; they must evaluate in a principled and exacting manner the actions of those officials who are guilty of instances of bureaucratism and red tape in examining the suggestions, declarations, and complaints of working people.

The session approved a plan of comprehensive measures for implementing the recommendations and proposals made at the conference held in the CPSU Central Committee on the questions of carrying out school reform. And it adopted the appropriate decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the LiSSR Council of Ministers.

The Buro discussed the question of the gross violations of fire safety on the Molyakalnis Sovkhoz, located in the Ignalina Rayon. A decree regarding this matter will be published in the press.

The session examined the question of creating a Lithuanian republic-level organization for veterans of war and labor. The party gorkoms and raykoms have been assigned the task of looking into the problems connected with creating city and rayon organizations, as well as councils of veterans of war and labor in labor groups and at places of residence.

The Buro also discussed other matters pertaining to the republic's social and cultural life.

2384

CSJ: 1800/117

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR CP CC BUREO REVIEWS SEPTEMBER PLAN FIGURES

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 Oct 86 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the results of fulfillment of the State Plan for Capital Construction for 9 months of 1986, as well as tasks for its successful conclusion.

The adopted resolution notes that the plan for contract construction and installation work was fulfilled in the republic for January-September 1986; a 7 percent growth will be achieved compared to the corresponding period last year and labor productivity grew by 6.1 percent.

At the same time, the plan to assimilate fixed capital has not been fulfilled (94 percent); the capital investments limit has not been utilized (98 percent). The plan to commission housing at state capital investments expense (99 percent) has not been fulfilled. More than half of the customer ministries and departments did not fulfill the plan for assimilating fixed capital. The greatest lagging has been tolerated by Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] (R5.8 million), the Ministry of Light Industry (R4.7 million), the Ministry of Truck Transport and Highways (R5.2 million), and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (R1.4 million). The cities of Kaunas, Kapsukas, Alitus and Palanga, as well as 30 rayons have not taken advantage of the capital investments limit. The Vilnyusskiy, Kedaynskiy, Mazheykskiy and Vilkavishkskiy rayons have tolerated the greatest lagging.

Construction is lagging at the Mazheykskiy Oil Refining Plant, the Ionavskoye Azotas Production Association, the Kedaynskiy Biochemical Plant, the Kedaynskiy Experimental Phosphogypsum Processing Plant, the Shyaulyayskiy Vayras Bicycle Motor Plant, the Utenskiy Electric Laboratory Furnace Plant, and at a number of other important construction sites.

Construction of public health projects, municipal services, houses of culture, the Ekranas plant put into operation this year in Shilute, and the Padevitis sovkhoz club in the Shilalskiy Rayon is being carried out unsatisfactorily.

There are fundamental shortcomings and oversights in organization of building construction and labor, application of the brigade and collective contract and use of equipment and machinery. Several collectives tolerate a reduced volume of construction and installation work and poor labor discipline.

Ensuring the use of 46 percent of fixed capital by the end of the year is in prospect, including 19 important production capacities and projects, more than one-third of the yearly plan for total area of apartment blocks and children's preschool establishments, 260-bed hospitals, polyclinics geared for 1000 visits a day, and a number of other national economy projects.

Serious shortfalls in the case of material and technical supply, especially of cement, and late delivery of industrial equipment and materials for commissioned projects have a negative effect on the results of capital construction.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro demanded that the Ministry of Construction (Minister Sh. Sheshplaukis), the republic's Litagropromstroy Construction Association (Chairman A. Baltushis) and other contracting organizations, as well as Gosagroprom (First Deputy Chairman G. Konoplev) and other customer ministries, departments, gorispelkoms and raispolkoms unconditionally fulfill plans to commission all production capacities, housing, children's preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, and other cultural and domestic purpose projects, as well as to create the necessary stockpile for constructing and commissioning projects next year.

Lithuanian CP gorkoms and raykoms, gorispelkoms and raispolkoms, as well as Komsomol and trade union organizations, and economic managers of construction sites are obligated to gear up socialist competition for timely and ahead of schedule commissioning of projects and unconditional fulfillment of planned tasks, as well as to strengthen production and industry discipline and improve construction quality.

The resolution obliges managers of construction organizations to take active measures for elimination of organizational shortcomings, and to ensure high labor discipline and favorable conditions for the work and way of life of construction workers, especially during winter.

The resolution directs Gossnab and Gosagroprom organizations to ensure full receipt of construction organization funds for cement, rolled metal, wood, glass, linoleum, paints, chemical additives and other materials.

The Ministry of Truck Transport and Highways, and the Vilnyusskiy and Shyaulyayskiy departments of the Baltic Railroad are obligated to take measures to ensure full and uninterrupted transport of building freight.

LiSSR Gosagroprom and Litovglavenergo are directed to take concrete measures for timely and full maintenance of high voltage electrode boiler rooms with electric boilers and other industrial and electrical equipment, which were put into operation this year.

12976/9312
CSO: 1800/100

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON SEMIANNUAL PLAN FULFILLMENT

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "In the KaSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At the 23 July meeting of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, they considered the result of the fulfillment of the State Plan for economic and social development of the KaSSR and the State Budget of the Republic for the first half of 1986.

At the meeting it was noted that the workers of Kazakhstan, by intensifying their socialist competition to implement the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the directives of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 16th Kazakhstan Communist Party Congress, have ensured that during the first half of this year the development of the republic's economy will be accelerated.

Industry as a whole has fulfilled the plan ahead of time with respect to the sale of output and the production of the majority of the most important products. The total volume of production has increased in comparison with the first half of last year by 7 percent. The productivity of labor has grown by 5.5 percent. Because of this factor, total industrial production has increased by 80 percent. Meeting of contractual obligations has improved somewhat and amount of shortfall in the delivery of output in fulfillment of contracts and orders has decreased by a factor of two.

Major organizational work has been performed to increase output and expand the selection of consumer goods. The plan for their production has been exceeded by 233 million rubles. A total of 1.6 square meters of cotton fabrics, more than 0.5 million items of knitted under- and outerwear, 910,000 pairs of socks and stockings, 1.8 million rubles worth of furniture, 1260 tons of vegetable oil, and many other products were produced over and above the plan.

The volume of livestock products which were produced, purchased and contributed to the common resources of the union increased. Farms in the southern oblasts set to work harvesting grain. The rate of feed production increased.

In the construction sector, the amount of limit capital investments utilized and of construction and repair work increased. The plan targets for putting into operation start-up projects, housing blocks, day care centers, hospitals, and outpatient clinics were fulfilled.

All types of means of transport and communication enterprises successfully handled the major targets of the plan.

In consequence, the program to increase the standard of living of the population was accomplished. The mean monthly wages of blue- and white-collar workers increased, the turn-over of retail goods increased by 6.5 percent, the volume of consumer services utilized by the population increased by 6.8 percent.

At the same time, it was noted at the meeting that certain ministries and departments of the republic and certain oblast ispolkoms did not ensure the fulfillment of the plan targets with regard to producing certain types of goods, meeting contractual obligations for deliveries, utilizing productive capabilities and making new capabilities operational, ensuring the growth of the productivity of labor, and decreasing the prime cost of production.

Work to incorporate the attainments of scientific and technological progress has not been conducted satisfactorily, nor has the development of techniques for harvesting or conserving material resources. The amount of state capital investments utilized and construction and installation work performed were below the maximum limits.

There are serious deficiencies in the organization of trade. Many commercial organizations have continued to operate in the old way; an adequate selection of goods has not always been available for sale; violations [of regulations] and other deplorable phenomena have still not been eliminated.

The attention of the ministries and departments of the republic and the oblast ispolkoms was directed, in particular, to the slow pace with which work style and methods were being restructured as mandated in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The KaSSR Council of Ministers required the ministers, the directors of the departments of the republic, and of the oblast ispolkoms and Alma-Ata city ispolkom to analyze critically the results of the fulfillment of the plan targets for the first half of 1986, to identify the causes of existing deficiencies, to take practical measures to eliminate instances of backwardness which occurred in the work of individual enterprises and organizations between January and June of this year, to maintain the growth rate of production achieved in this period, to ensure unconditional fulfillment of the 1986 plan and of the socialist obligations which have been accepted, and, thus, to create a firm foundation for the successful attainment of the targets for the 12th five-year plan.

The ministries, departments, oblast ispolkoms, and Alma-Ata city ispolkom were charged with taking the necessary measures to ensure that all the capabilities required for the plan, living quarters, and other cultural and consumer

service facilities are put into operation on time, with seeing that all measures are taken to increase the production of consumer goods and the volume of services provided to the population, with ensuring that the crops are harvested in a well-organized manner and without waste, and with making sure that all the sectors of the economy are ready at the proper time to do their work during the fall-winter period of 1986/1987. In all the sectors of the economy new efforts will be made to ensure economic efficiency and eliminate waste and unproductive expenditures, to facilitate the fastest possible restructuring of the style and methods of work, and to ensure that deliveries are made strictly according to agreement.

N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the meeting.

9285
CSO: 1830/600

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TuSSR SUPREME SOVIET ON ASHKHABAD HOUSING CODE

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "In the Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet: On the Observance of the Housing Code of the TuSSR in the Ashkhabad City Soviet of Peoples Deputies Ispolkom"]

[Text] As we have already noted, this issue was discussed at the meeting of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The decree adopted notes that the ispolkom of the Ashkhabad City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies, guided by the statutes of the Constitution and Housing Code, has conducted a certain amount of work to improve the housing conditions of the citizens.

During the past 5-year plan, 536,000 square meters of living space was built, financed by all funding sources, and resulting in improved living conditions for approximately 72,000 families. All barracks and almost all dilapidated houses have been eliminated. The available housing of the local soviets in the city increased to 64 percent of the overall city available housing; the rate of construction has begun to exceed the rate of population increase. The structure of the housing administration agencies is being improved.

At the same time, the Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet noted that there have been serious shortcomings in the work performed by the ispolkom of the Ashkhabad City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies in observance of the requirements of the Housing Code. A systematic program of housing construction has not been provided, particularly with respect to utilization of the resources of housing-construction cooperatives. The targets for making available new living space have also not been met since the beginning of the current year. Many housing blocks have been put into use in far from finished condition, with utilities not installed, or with no public services or amenities provided in the adjacent areas.

The work of the city ispolkom is not meeting all the requirements of the Housing Code in its observance of the mandated procedures for registering citizens needing improved housing conditions, nor those for allocating living space. The performance of this work by the rayon ispolkoms of the city is not being monitored, nor is there monitoring of the management and trade union committees of enterprises, organizations and institutions. Individuals who have a right to receive housing out of turn or to have top housing priority are also not being registered properly.

Many claims have been filed against the cotton, glass, and meat canning combines, the sewing mill imeni 60th Anniversary of the USSR, the CMU-1 (building and installation administration) of the trust of pre-fabricated housing construction, the "Turkmen Agricultural Water-line" association and other labor collectives for registering people for apartments without keeping records, and without considering applications promptly, for establishing priorities without reference to the date of the application, and without documents of inspection of housing conditions. Frequently people are accepted for registration without legitimate basis. In spite of these violations, the city ispolkom, ignoring the principles involved, have made decisions to allocate apartments.

There have been cases where citizens have been given apartments with less space than they should have been allocated on the basis of the mandated standards, as a result of which they have continued to remain on the list of those needing apartments. In newly built apartment houses, some apartments have remained vacant for long periods of time. Issues related to transfer of departmental living quarters to the authority of the local soviets are slow in being resolved.

The housing-operation agencies are not observing the statutes of the TuSSR Housing Code concerning the obligatory registration of apartments which have become vacant and of official apartments, and their prompt and proper allocation. Many such apartments are not reassigned for long periods of time leading to citizens occupying them without authorization, especially in the Leninskiy Rayon. Instances have come to light where tenants have leased their apartments to other citizens in order to obtain easy income. In the Sovetskiy Rayon alone, 20 illegally sublet apartments were found. As a consequence of the indecisiveness of the city ispolkom and law enforcement agencies, some citizens have been erecting housing in the city without authorization, particularly in the Proletarskiy Rayon. The total indebtedness for apartment rent and communal services is growing.

There have been serious shortcomings in management of the operation and up-keep of housing blocks. There has been no monitoring of the utilization of the available departmental housing and dormitories. The requirement by the supervisory agencies that apartments be inspected and certified has not been satisfied. Every year the plans concerning major repairs of living quarters have not been fulfilled and the quality of repairs remains low. The city ispolkom does not show evidence of caring about performing major repairs on their available housing. The production of industrial products to support management of housing is slow in occurring.

All this has evoked complaints and justified reproofs from the workers. During the past year, there has been a significant increase in the number of written and oral appeals by the inhabitants of Ashkhabad to the city Soviet of Peoples' Deputies concerning repair, heating, water supply, and telephone installation for living quarters and the proportion of appeals which have been granted has decreased.

The Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet has required the Ashkhabad City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies to eliminate the shortcomings enumerated. They were guided by the directives of the 27th Party Congress and the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning increasing the accountability of the soviets for the state of affairs in the territory over which they have jurisdiction, in order to ensure more stringent observation of the Housing Code by local city soviets, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, regardless of the department to which they report. It has been acknowledged that it is necessary to perform a complete verification of the state of housing registration for citizens by living and job locations, to institute strict procedures everywhere, and to increase performance standards for workers directly involved in maintaining housing registration, preparing documents for allocation of living quarters, and managing available housing so as to ensure honest and fair performance of their jobs.

The city ispolkom has been ordered to take additional measures to facilitate the strict fulfillment of plan targets for housing construction and the smooth introduction of new living quarters into use, and to eliminate instances where unfinished or defective housing blocks are accepted. They are further responsible for ensuring that the required waiting list ordering be strictly observed, that issues related to the allocation of living space will be resolved promptly and fairly, and that any violation of the housing legislation will be responded to on the basis of principle. It is important that the waiting list be analyzed periodically to determine the number of people in each family on it and that this be used in planning the size of apartments to be constructed. It is essential to improve the supervision of housing and municipal services of the city, to increase monitoring of the utilization and up-keep of apartment houses, to make sure that repairs and maintenance of living quarters are prompt and of high quality, and to work tenaciously to improve the level of services and utilities.

The Turkmen Council of Trade Unions was charged with increasing the activities of the trade union committees of the enterprises and organizations, with increasing their accountability for the correct solution of issues involving registering citizens needing improved housing conditions, and assigning them living quarters, and with ensuring that workers groups participate broadly in such matters. The TuSSR Office of the Public Prosecutor is charged with increasing its surveillance over the strict and unconditional observance of all the requirements of housing legislation on the territory of the republic. The TuSSR Council of Ministers must improve its supervision of the activities of the Ashkhabad City Soviet, so as to ensure proper housing registration, distribution, operation and up-keep of living quarters, and must monitor the legality of the decisions made by the city ispolkom on housing issues more strictly.

9285
CSO: 1830/690

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TURKMEN SUPREME SOVIET ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 15 Jun 86 p 3

[TURKMENINFORM report: "In the Permanent Commission of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On June 14 the Budget and Planning Commission of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet reviewed the work of the Turkmen Ministry of Local Industry in fulfilling the Turkmen Act, "On the 1986 State Plan for Socio-Economic Development in Turkmenistan," and in implementing the recommendations contained in the findings of the Budget and Planning Commission and other permanent commissions of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet for planning and budgeting in 1986.

The commission noted that the ministry had carried out specific work for fulfilling production plans, increasing the quality of production, decreasing production costs, and increasing labor productivity. During four months of the current year, ministry enterprises produced 3.9 percent more commercial products than the planned volume; the rate of growth amounted to an 8 percent increase over the corresponding period in 1985. Plans for realization and for the growth of labor productivity have been implemented.

Work on expanding and renovating a variety of manufactured goods is proceeding. During the first quarter of 1986, 41 new product models were introduced into production. During four months of the current year, improved products worth 165,000 rubles were sold.

Specific measures are being taken for cutting the production costs of commercial goods; sale-exhibitions, buyer conferences, and questionnaires are being organized periodically, and prototypes of products are being introduced.

At the same time omissions and shortages are also found in the work of the Turkmen Ministry of Local Industry in fulfilling the Turkmen Act, "On the 1986 State Plan for Socio-Economic Development in Turkmenistan," and in implementing the recommendations of Budget and Planning, and other permanent commissions.

The ministry has not completely carried out the recommendations of the commission for fulfilling the Plan for output of designated products. The quality of goods remains low and the output of an inconsistent product

continues. The Plan has not been fulfilled for production of thick felt, consumer goods, confectionery, and woolen yarn. In comparison with last year, the output of improved goods has gone down. An inferior quality of leather goods from the Ashkhabad fancy goods mill, footwear from the Ashkhabad Consumer Goods Manufacturing Union, clothing from the Mary and Tashauz consumer goods factories, the Karabekaul Raypromkombinat, and others has been observed.

The ministry gives insufficient consideration to introducing a complete system for controlling product quality in the enterprises. As of 1 May 1986, this system had been introduced in no more than 16 enterprises; that is obviously not enough. The technical level of production is being raised slowly, and secondary raw materials and industrial by-products are not being used enough. This was mentioned in the recommendations of the commission.

The extent of work carried out for retooling and increasing the technical level of production lags behind modern demands. The equipment in confectionery factories and other enterprises is obsolete.

The Commission recommended that the Ministry of Local Industry eliminate the above-mentioned shortcomings.

An appropriate decision was adopted regarding the question under discussion.

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CSO: 1830/621

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

MORE, BETTER ADVERTISING NEEDED IN LOCAL NEWSPAPERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by N. Petrov and V. Fedotov: "Announcement in the Newspaper: Problems of the Local Press"]

[Text] The topic of today's press survey may appear to be unusual. But that is only at first glance. It has currently been recommended to the local newspapers that they make broader and more varied use of various kinds of announcements, including those recommended by individual citizens. Advertising -- or announcements, if you will -- can be one of the interesting pieces of local news. It is not by accident that we love our evening city newspapers, where entire pages are set aside for materials of this kind. And yet in many rayon newspapers, if not in most of them, the announcements are not held in high regard. And that's a pity.

...They say that on a certain multistory building in the center of a large city, two advertisements in neon letters shone for several years. One told people to fly on Aeroflot airplanes, and the other told them to insure their property only at Gosstrakh [Main Administration of State Insurance]. There happened to be practical jokesters who did not mind spending several morning hours rearranging the words in the advertisements. And so, one evening, people saw shining over the central square the advice: "Fly on Gosstrakh airplanes!"

Whether or not this is a true story, the truth consists in the fact that people have become accustomed to seeing the advertisements on our city streets and in our newspapers, and, for the most part, they simply do not notice them anymore. And yet advertising has been called upon to play a role of no small importance -- it offers the population a large number of services, helps people to find work that they like, and informs them about the city's cultural life. In a word, it fulfills a large number of the most varied functions. However, the advertising tests are often carried out in a stereotypical manner, without being carefully thought out, and their effectiveness is not great.

But, tell us frankly, have there been many instances when, after receiving a newspaper with a Gosstrakh advertisement, a person has dashed to an agency of that institution to fill out the necessary papers? At any rate we cannot cite any examples of this happening. But after reading in the Ust-Labinsk (Krasnodar Kray) SELSKAYA NOV newspaper an item which was, essentially speaking, a piece of advertising propaganda, "The Insurance Agent's Work Place," people began, completely unexpectedly, to warm to the topic, asking among themselves who had insurance, and what kind. The newspaper had resorted to a small trick. The article had been given the subtitle, "To Help the Insurance Aktiv at Enterprises, Kolkhozes, and State Farms." However, the content of the material leaves no doubt about the fact that it is aimed not only at the aktiv. By opening up the "kitchen" where the agent works, the newspaper casually reminds the reader of the benefits that are promised to people who deal with Gosstrakh. This type of advertising is some that is new in our press, but nevertheless many newspapers have been skillfully experimenting in this area.

Gosavtoinspeksiya (GAI) [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] has published newspaper announcements and appeals to observe traffic safety rules for many years, probably during the entire 50 years that that inspectorate has existed. Somewhat later, about 10-15 years ago, they began printing in the newspapers brief reports on automobile accidents. That is not any kind of stupendous journalistic discovery, but nevertheless it was a step forward as compared with the standard announcements. And now many newspapers, two or three times a month, publish extensive reports based on the activities of GAI. For example, LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, which is published in the city of Georgiu-Dezh, Voronezh Oblast, prints series of short items under the rubric "Main Post -- the Road." These items analyze automobile accidents and give the unhappy statistics concerning incidents on our roads, and in addition include articles about the best GAI inspectors and sketches about the drivers who observe the traffic safety rules in an exemplary manner. Without a doubt, these items are much more readable and much more effective than the traditional advertisements and dry information concerning automobile accidents.

The MAYAK newspaper (Pushkinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast), instead of the standard set of announcements concerning admission to PTU [vocational-technical schools], printed a series of interviews with the administrators of a number of schools, which dealt in an animated and relaxed manner with the peculiarities of the various specialties taught at the schools, the interesting aspects of future work in that area of specialization, what earnings a person could expect after graduation from the school, and what the growth opportunities were.

The LENINETS newspaper (Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast) takes a somewhat different path. It has not yet completely rejected the traditional, standard form of printing announcements. But in a number of instances the collected items are preceded by an introductory lead-in by the editorial office. These include photographs and legal statements. The column "Where Should I Go to Get My Education?", which was printed recently, opens with remarks directed at the graduates of the secondary school system and those who are finishing the eighth grade. The same newspaper prints the column "Legal Advice" on the topic of "Housing for Young Workers and Specialists." We would not say that

any particularly brilliant journalist discoveries are used in that column. However, one can discern the attempt to provide material in a more attractive, more winning manner. And it appears that the effectiveness of the announcements has been increasing.

We must say that the advertising topics have recently expanded noticeably. In addition to announcements concerning job offers, movie reviews, and items dealing with fire safety, the newspapers print birthday and anniversary messages, and expressions of appreciation to doctors and nurses. And it is on the personal announcements from the citizens that it is necessary to place the basic emphasis. However, there are a few considerations that ought to be discussed in this regard. Topics that are worthy of broader illumination in the newspaper pass through the announcements section directly into the hands of the newspapermen. Probably these eight to ten lines of official text could or even should be preceded by a note or an item written by a professional journalist.

We encountered a completely unexpected announcement in the previously mentioned LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA: "The editorial office needs workers." The meaning is not incorrect, but this is a strange form of staffing a party press agency.

The problem of staffing the rayon newspapers with qualified cadres does exist. Incidentally, the recommendation was made to the local press that it also make wider use of announcements to reinforce the newspapers' financial situation, so that they can all become profitable, and so that the editor's fund, which is used to provide material incentives for the workers, will grow.

How do the announcements on the pages of city and rayon newspapers look to us? Well, primarily as rather monotonous and impersonal, with a somewhat boring layout. Secondly, it would be desirable for them to be less official-looking or formal. We read, for example, the following text in the ZNAMYA LENINA newspaper in Livny (Orel Oblast): "The cafeteria and restaurant trust, in connection with the beginning of the spring and summer trade, issues an invitation to work a complete or incomplete work day in the selling of juices, ice cream, and confectionery articles to women with small children, retirees, disabled individuals, and schoolchildren and students during the summer vacation." One wonders whether the Livny newspapermen couldn't have edited that announcement in such a way that it would have really sounded appealing and "captivating."

And there is another sad observation that has to be made. The Livny city newspaper daily prints a large number of announcements that begin with exactly the same words: "Wanted for work..." In some issues that advertising fills up as much as half the newspaper page. "Livny electrical network needs a foreman, mechanical engineer." "The Livny rayon personal-services administration needs acceptance cashiers, knitters, garment makers, embroiderers, electrician, laundress, cashier." The Livmezhraygaz Trust needs a senior foreman. And right next to those announcements, on the very same page, is the announcement: "Young men and women! If you want to live, study, and work in the hero city of Leningrad, you are invited to enroll at Leningrad Secondary Vocational-Technical School No. 53. Instruction in the following

specialties: painter/plasterer, plasterer/finisher/tilesetter, finisher/tilesetter/mosaic specialist, plasterer, sculptor of architectural details, bricklayer, carpenter/cabinetmaker, sewing machine operator." There is also an announcement concerning acceptance of people to work at another vocational-technical school in the city of Pavlovskiy Posad, Moscow Oblast.

What is happening? Livny needs a plasterer/painter/tilesetter, and the city of Leningrad is issuing an invitation to young people wanting to learn that occupation. That's a cheerful prospect for the city of Livny, we must say. If the newspaper continues to print announcements like this next to one another, then the newspaper truly will never stop printing invitations to people to come working at local organizations and enterprises.

It follows directly from this that the layout of the announcements portfolio, the publishing of advertisements in the newspapers, must not pass through the editorial offices and wind up with the employee who accepts the announcements. It is necessary to think up and propose new forms for printing them, informal, bright ones that will attract the readers' attention and force them to keep their gaze on the newspaper page. The announcements in the newspaper also have definite educational potential. And that potential must be used to the fullest degree.

5075
CSO: 1800/140

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CURRENT NATIONALITIES POLICY REVIEWED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 19 Sep 86) pp 20-28

[Article by B. Zadarnovskiy, candidate of historical sciences: "Lenin's Nationalities Policy--Part of the Improvement of Socialism"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] Lenin's nationalities policy has an important role to play in the attainment of the objectives set by the 27th CPSU Congress. Under the conditions of a multinational state and the socialist order, it is revealing its tremendous constructive potential with increasing strength. The friendship of the nationalities of the USSR has long been a source of vitality enriching the life of each nationality and ethnic group in the country in their collective efforts to reach common goals.

Now that the country is mobilizing all reserves and potential to achieve the necessary acceleration of the Soviet society's socioeconomic development, the CPSU nationalities policy is one of the powerful levers heightening the dynamism of our progress and is part of the improvement of socialism.

Basic Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations

When the CPSU makes policy on ethnic relations, it takes the multinational composition of the Soviet society fully into account. This means that the party, first of all, without ever losing sight of the diversity of the specific living conditions of different nationalities in the USSR, relies firmly on the common goals and interests that determine the essence and directions of their inter-ethnic unification and constant convergence; secondly, it determines the current level of ethnic relations at each new strategic frontier; thirdly, it clarifies our theoretical beliefs, political assessments and conclusions pertaining to the entire range of ethnic factors and problems and sets objectives for the near future.

On the strength of this approach, the new edition of the CPSU Program contains a concise, meaningful and scientifically sound definition of past accomplishments, clarifies our views on complex matters of theory and methodology, reveals the most effective ways of implementing objective trends in the development of national and international factors and sets new tasks for the improvement of ethnic relations.

A strictly scientific view of the essence and historical boundaries of the resolution of the question of nationality during the process of socialist construction is of fundamental significance in the determination of long-range and short-range goals in the sphere of ethnic relations. The new edition of the CPSU Program contains a precise definition of the essence of past accomplishments in the sphere of nationalities policy in our country: "THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY, WHICH WAS INHERITED, HAS BEEN SETTLED SUCCESSFULLY IN THE SOVIET UNION." This, however, does not mean that other problems connected with the existence of different nationalities and ethnic distinctions have disappeared, because "when more than a hundred nationalities and ethnic groups work and live together, NEW PROBLEMS IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF ETHNIC RELATIONS naturally arise."

The constant interpretation and analysis of the current level of inter-ethnic contacts and relations is an important aspect of the party's approach to ethnic problems. The CPSU has stated that the diverse interests of nationalities and ethnic groups must be given full consideration in daily activity, they must be organically linked with the public interest, and the effects of various internal and external factors on ethnic relations must be investigated continuously.

Under present conditions, the CPSU believes it is exceptionally important to continue improving the scientific management of the development of socialist nationalities, their interrelations and their constant convergence, mutual enrichment and international unification. The party, the new edition of the CPSU Program says, regards the improvement of ethnic relations and the consolidation of the fraternal friendship of the nationalities and ethnic groups in the country as ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF ITS SOCIAL POLICY.

The basic guidelines stipulated in the party program for CPSU activity in the sphere of ethnic relations during the current period are distinguished by the historical continuity of the main ideas and policies, a realistic assessment of the present stage of development and past results and an emphasis on the achievement of new qualitative changes. The CPSU is fully aware of, and is guided by, earlier conclusions, in accordance with which the maximum unity, thorough development and constant convergence of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR constitute the mainstream of the consistent development of socialist nationalities. This process as a whole represents an objective NATURAL LAW of socialist development (see "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..." [The CPSU in Resolutions...], vol 11, p 56).

The policy of the CPSU in this sphere is distinguished by a responsible and realistic approach to long-range objectives and intolerance for the laissez-faire attitude and the dangerous practice of letting things drift. The CPSU's active position and balanced policy in the sphere of ethnic relations are clearly demonstrated in the party's statement about the impermissibility of any kind of artificial stimulation or restriction of objective tendencies in development.

Recent scientific literature has displayed a heightened interest in the thorough disclosure of the meaning of such terms as the flourishing and convergence

of nationalities. This is connected with the augmentation of our experience and knowledge with regard to the spheres and nature of these processes, as well as with the need for a more accurate view of the dialectics of their interaction.

It must be said that flourishing is often interpreted as mere quantitative accumulation, the rise of economic indicators and indices of welfare, social achievements and so forth. There is no question that all of this is part of the flourishing or development of a nationality, but something else is also indisputable: Flourishing is not and cannot be confined to these achievements, because past experience tells us that they are the product of the activities of more than just one republic or one nationality. It is known that genuine flourishing is accomplished by borrowing all of the best, most advanced and most progressive from other nationalities—that is, borrowing everything of international significance.

Of course, this does not mean that such meaningful indicators and parameters as labor productivity, efficiency, product quality, consumer standards, national cultural achievements and so forth cannot and should not be a source of natural pride.

Therefore, the flourishing of a nationality is not only a new and higher level in the development of its economy, social relations, culture, public welfare and spiritual life, but also a DEGREE OF FAMILIARITY with the achievements and progressive traditions of other ethnic groups and the ABILITY TO ENRICH international experience with its own national experience, experience winning universal renown by virtue of its economic, scientific or cultural significance.

As for the term "convergence of nationalities," our literature states that the convergence of nationalities in the USSR cannot be reduced to the simple exchange of material and spiritual values.* This is primarily a matter of the ACQUISITION OF QUALITATIVELY NEW GENERAL FEATURES in the economic, socio-cultural and consumer spheres and the FIRM AWARENESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY AND FRATERNITY OF SOVIET PEOPLE.

The Communist Party teaches us not to contrast the convergence of nationalities to their flourishing, but to regard them as a single process of the development of socialist nationalities, in which the balanced combination of international and national interests must be secured at all times. Although flourishing and convergence make up a single process, they are not identical in terms of their relative significance. International tendencies play the leading role in their interaction and also contribute to the further development of all aspects of the life of nationalities and ethnic groups.

Official Objectives of CPSU Nationalities Policy

The new edition of the CPSU Program states the urgent need for the social development of our country and stipulates the main objectives in the sphere

* See, for example, M. P. Kim, "Problemy teorii i istorii realnogo sotsializma" [Aspects of the Theory and History of True Socialism], Moscow, 1983, p 431.

of nationalities policy. On the one hand, they stem from common developmental needs of the socialist society and the specific interests of republics, and on the other they define the specific role of national-territorial units in the intensification of the dynamism of social progress in general.

This interpretation of the role and dialectics of the development of ethnic relations under the conditions of the improvement of socialism presupposes the performance of interrelated tasks with a view to the priority of inter-ethnic interests: the maximum consolidation and development of the unified government of the union, the unified national economic complex and the unified culture of the Soviet people. This emphasis on the public--that is, inter-ethnic--interest will provide maximum impetus for the implementation of the CPSU strategy of achieving a qualitatively new status for the Soviet society through the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and an active party social policy.

This gives rise to the need for the ECONOMIC SUBSTANTIATION OF NATIONALITIES POLICY AT THE PRESENT TIME. This was discussed, in particular, at the All-Union Applied Science Conference on the "Improvement of Ethnic Relations in Line with the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" in April 1986 in Tashkent. Speakers there said that the economic aspects of ethnic relations must be assigned priority in organizational and propaganda work now that the party is urging the dramatic acceleration of our development. In other words, tasks connected with the improvement of ethnic relations should be explained with a view to the decisive role of the unified national economic complex as the material foundation of the fraternal friendship and unity of the nationalities of the USSR and the need for the further intensification of inter-republic division of labor and the efficient use of the country's tremendous economic potential and of the natural resources and climatic potential of the republics.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. One of the main tasks stipulated in the CPSU Program consists in the "maximum consolidation and development of the unified multinational government of the union." Reaffirming the principled content of Article 70 of the Constitution of the USSR, which describes the Soviet Union as a "single union multinational state," the party document enriches this statement and stipulates the specific means of the further consolidation and development of our multinational country "through the creative application of the Leninist principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism."

The party is reinforcing the unified government of the union primarily by means of the organic and optimal combination of the public interest with the interests of republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs. The consistent use of this approach will exclude, on the one hand, the underestimation of specific national needs and, on the other, the danger of interpreting common interests from a limited departmental or ethnic standpoint. A fundamentally accurate general position, however, does not automatically exclude the possibility of departmentalism, regionalism or ethnic narrowmindedness. The party regards the struggle against behavior of this kind as part of the efforts to consolidate and develop the union. The underestimation of this struggle in the recent past led to serious moral and political losses.

It is no secret that some administrators have tried to use the CPSU policy of the constant expansion of the rights, independence and initiative of union and autonomous republics for the philistine promotion of family and clan interests. Trust, the encouragement of the independence of local agencies in the management of the national economy and in personnel policy, and the considerate treatment of local personnel were taken in some cases to signify the right of uncontrolled (both from above and from below) and undivided authority in rayons, oblasts and even republics.

This distortion of socialist democracy, partymindedness and internationalism, which was petty bourgeois in its social aims, led to a situation in which the former administrators of such republics as Uzbekistan and Kirghiziya abused their authority and the trust of the party and used them for selfish purposes.

The absence of firm class convictions, partymindedness and internationalist and civic responsibility, concealed by political demagogery, engendered a chain of negative events and undesirable tendencies: the distortion of state statistics, the concealment of shortcomings, unlimited praise for the top leaders from the rayon to the republic levels, suppression and outright reprisals for criticism and adherence to party principles, the encouragement of servility and time-serving, and the erosion of the standards and principles of the socialist way of life.

This distortion of the style of party and state management by some high-level officials on the local level led, for example, in the party organization of the Kirghiz SSR to serious moral losses and to a complete departure from the Leninist principles of personnel policy when people were promoted to responsible positions simply because they were personal friends, relatives or neighbors (see PRAVDA, 1 March 1986).

Besides this, the erosion of moral and political standards naturally gave rise to several negative tendencies in the economy in the 1970's and early 1980's. For example, Uzbekistan's contribution to national income has hardly increased at all in the last 10 years (see PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 31 January 1986), whereas the republic's share of the national population has grown dynamically. The new leaders of the republic admitted at the 27th CPSU Congress that "the tremendous production, scientific and technical potential created in Uzbekistan with the aid of all the nationalities of the USSR, especially the great Russian people, has not produced the necessary return yet" (PRAVDA, 28 February 1986).

Phenomena of this kind not only impede the development of a republic but also complicate the progress of our multinational state and, consequently, of each of its constituent nationalities and ethnic groups. Past experience tells us that the problems of socialist self-government are solved successfully only on the basis of the constant reinforcement of democratic centralism, which reveals its constructive potential to the fullest extent when centralism is balanced with local independence and initiative. A weak element on either side can mean, as practice has shown, perceptible losses. Regionalism and departmentalism are covert enemies of socialism by their very nature. This is why the reinforcement of centralism, engendered by the very essence of the single union

government and all-encompassing and all-permeating control from above with simultaneous control from below by the working public represent a guarantee of the constant growth of our multinational power's might.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIFIED NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX. The political and organizational consolidation of the USSR is directly connected with the attainment of another important objective set by the CPSU: THE AUGMENTATION OF THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL POTENTIAL OF EACH REPUBLIC WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNIFIED NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX. The necessity for the satisfaction of local interests and needs primarily through the resolution of nationwide problems is most apparent here, because the successful development of each nationality and ethnic group and of the state in general depends precisely on this.

Why is priority assigned to the public interest, and what is the reason for the emphasis on its paramount satisfaction? This approach stems from the Marxist assessments of socialism as an integral system in terms of its essence and forms. In the "First Draft of the Article 'The Current Objectives of the Soviet Regime,'" V. I. Lenin explained the uniting and integrating role of socialism, writing that the main thing was to turn all citizens "without exception into members of a single nationwide or, more precisely, statewide cooperative" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 161). Under present conditions, the objective tendencies toward the maximal collectivization of labor and production are revealed primarily in the development and improvement of the unified national economic complex, which constitutes the economic foundation of the unity of Soviet nationalities.

The concept of the "unified national economic complex" (UNEC) was engendered by the socialist social order and is characteristic only of socialism. At the same time, the diversity of historical, national and geographic conditions means that the establishment and development of the UNEC will differ in different socialist countries. It is understandable that the multinational nature of a country will be among the most important of these differences. For example, the existence of 53 national-territorial units in the USSR, 35 of which have the status of national states, has a decisive impact on the system of national economic management. The new edition of the CPSU Program takes this fact fully into account.

The CPSU believes that the further consolidation and development of the USSR as a multinational socialist state and the constant flourishing and convergence of Soviet nationalities and ethnic groups will depend on the dynamics of UNEC development.* The economy of the Soviet Union is not merely the mathematical sum of the economies of different republics and oblasts, but a unified and indivisible economic organism established on the basis of the common socio-political, economic and ideological goals and interests of all nationalities and ethnic groups.

The Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and During the Period up to 2000 acknowledge the decisive role of

* See, for example, V. Medvedev, "The National Economic Complex and Inter-Ethnic Relations," KOMMUNIST, 1982, No 17.

the UNEC and stipulate that its dynamic and balanced development must be secured.

What plans does the party have for the further development and improvement of the UNEC? In the context of nationalities policy--that is, with a view to the flourishing and convergence of nationalities and ethnic groups--the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress specify the following areas of activity in this sphere: the augmentation of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of the UNEC; the guarantee of the dynamic and balanced development of the national economic complex and the effective interaction of all its links; constant efforts to enhance the role of republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs in the performance of nationwide tasks and to increase the contribution of republics and economic regions to the reinforcement of the UNEC and the resolution of social problems; the consistent intensification of division of labor among republics and the encouragement of active participation by republics in the economic development of new regions; the encouragement of the comprehensive development and specialization of republic economies; the equalization of the conditions of their economic management; the efficient use of the resources of the entire country, local natural resources and other distinctions; the development of inter-republic personnel exchanges of workers and specialists, and so forth.

When we examine the instructions for the development and improvement of the UNEC, we can easily see the close organic interaction of statewide and republic interests and objectives. The public interest does not and cannot conflict with the interests of nationalities in the socialist order, because the international and the national are united harmoniously in the socialist society. The crux of the matter is that only the acknowledgement and guarantee of the leading role of the public interest can aid in the determination and mobilization of the main links and levers for the accomplishment of all other tasks. Therefore, the development of the UNEC will simultaneously augment the material and spiritual potential of each republic.

One of the most important aspects of CPSU policy on the improvement of the UNEC is the concentration of production and the intensification of specialization in accordance with plans. This is the natural way to achieve the constant progress of the highly developed economy. It is precisely within the national economic complex that these elements of intensification produce the maximum economic impact. In view of the exceptional variety of natural and climatic conditions in our country and the adherence of the population of various regions to traditional systems of division of labor, the specialization of republic economies can serve as an additional means of heightening the effectiveness of the UNEC.

The party recognizes specialization as an essential element of dynamic and effective production, but it also advocates intelligent, economically and geographically substantiated specialization, aimed at solving the problems of the self-sufficiency of republics and oblasts, particularly in the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods. In view of the huge dimensions of our country and the fact that the cost of shipping certain agricultural products and daily necessities could exceed the cost of these goods, the party wants

every oblast and every republic to satisfy its own needs to the maximum through the local production of foodstuffs and manufactured goods and to bear complete responsibility for this to the party and people. As Chairman N. I. Ryzhkov of the USSR Council of Ministers said at the Fifth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, a situation in which local enterprises in the Tajik, Turkmen, Uzbek and Azerbaijan SSR's have a per capita output of consumer goods made of local raw materials and secondary resources worth only 1.5-2 rubles a year cannot be called normal.

The constant improvement of national economic management will play an important role in the development of the UNEC. The party has stated that the economic mechanism should be brought in line with the increasing capabilities and needs of our economy in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The CPSU now feels, as the Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and During the Period up to 2000 state, that measures should be taken to improve sectorial and territorial planning and management and to "improve and develop democratic centralism in national economic management, combining unified centralized administration with initiative, creativity and highly responsible behavior on all levels of economic management."

Besides this, the new edition of the CPSU Program stresses the need for constant efforts to enhance the role of republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs in the attainment of nationwide objectives and to encourage active participation by workers of all nationalities in the work of government and administrative agencies. The combination of the initiative of local agencies with centralized administration on the unionwide level can promote the efficient use of the resources and production potential of the entire country and stimulate the comprehensive development of local natural resources.

The development of the UNEC of a multinational country requires the intensification of inter-republic contacts. The cultural and economic functions of the language of inter-ethnic communication are clearly revealed here. This is the reason for the increasingly important role of the Russian language, voluntarily chosen by the Soviet people as the medium of international communication.* It should be borne in mind, however, that the social activity of a large number of people (around 50 million) is still limited to some extent by their lack of knowledge or inadequate knowledge of the Russian language. More intense work to teach people the language of inter-ethnic communication will promote the active involvement of youth in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The methods of improving the unified national economic complex are simultaneously ways of ensuring the further reinforcement of the economic foundations of the friendship of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the country. The dynamism of UNEC development is the dynamism of the flourishing and convergence of USSR nationalities and the reinforcement of the Soviet multinational state's might and international prestige.

* For more detail, see Yu. Karaulov and N. Mikhaylovskaya, "The Language of the Great Brotherhood," POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, 1986, No 5.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIFIED CULTURE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. A qualitatively new level in the development of inter-ethnic relations, based on socialism's own realities, was reached during the construction of the developed socialist society and the expansion and intensification of the processes of internationalization in the economy, in social relations and in spiritual life. It reflected the entire complex group of social and ethnic factors and their interaction and was embodied in the new historic human community--the Soviet nationality. "The Soviet nationality," the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress states, "represents a qualitatively new social and international community, united by the same economic interests, ideology and political goals."

The CPSU Program regards the further unification of the Soviet people as a social and international community as an essential condition for our society's advancement.

The general direction of the progress of this community is the result of the natural laws governing the development of socialism and, above all, the intensification of the collectivization of labor and production and the expansion of socialist democracy, which leads objectively to stronger sociopolitical unification and constant advancement toward social homogeneity. The statement in the new edition of the CPSU Program about the establishment of a classless society in our country, which will take place mainly within the first, socialist phase of the communist order, is based on these general tendencies and stipulates that the working class will play the decisive role in the establishment of the class-free social structure. In our country the working class is not only the largest class but also represents the majority of the laboring public and is made up of almost two-thirds of the employed population.

The role and significance of republic segments of the working class are constantly increasing. Whereas in 1959 it represented the majority of the laboring public in four republics (the RSFSR, Latvia, Estonia and Kazakhstan), 20 years later it represented slightly less than half in only one republic (Turkmeniya--44.2 percent). Therefore, the dynamic convergence of the national republics is also apparent in the sphere of the social-class structure.* At the same time, the party is aware that the progress of the Soviet people will be more effective if the optimal combination can be secured in the development of social-class and ethnic factors. In this connection, the CPSU believes that priority should be assigned to the growth of national segments of the working class. Although it represents the largest social groups in all of the union republics, the native nationality in some should be represented more fully in the working class.

The increasingly multinational nature of the Soviet republics is one of the trends in the development of the new international community. All of our republics are multinational, with non-native nationalities making up from 10 to 64 percent of their population. There is a non-native population of

* See, for example: "Sotsialnaya politika i natsionalnye otnosheniya" [Social Policy and Ethnic Relations], Moscow, 1982, p 109.

over 55 million in the national republics. The multinational nature of the republics is the result of objective processes of internationalization, occurring primarily in the economic sphere and having a decisive effect on one of the main aspects of the development of ethnic processes--inter-ethnic integration.

The development of the Soviet nationality as an international community is not only taking place in the economic and social spheres. Now that our country has entered the stage of developed socialism, the SPIRITUAL LIFE OF NATIONALITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS is being internationalized more and more intensively by their common ideology and socioeconomic activity. When the party makes policy in this sphere, it proceeds from the level of internationalization reached in the spiritual sphere in the preceding stage and from the long-range objectives of our advancement and the development of the new individual. It must be borne in mind, however, that the spiritual heritage, traditions and daily life of each nationality and ethnic group have their negative and obsolete features as well as positive ones. As speakers stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, our achievements should not create the impression of problem-free ethnic processes, especially since the desire for ethnic exclusivity, regionalism and parasitical attitudes still exist and are sometimes quite unhealthy, and since attempts are made in the cultural sphere under the guise of national uniqueness to use certain works of literature and art and scientific studies to idealize vestiges of nationalism and religious attitudes contrary to the socialist ideology, way of life and scientific view of the world.

In the broad context, the unified culture of the Soviet people includes all of the main spheres of the spiritual life of the socialist nationalities: science, ideology, literature, art, education, patriotic and internationalist indoctrination and so forth. It is this all-encompassing function of culture in the socialist society that is referred to in the third basic objective in the improvement of ethnic relations stipulated in the new edition of the CPSU Program.

The improvement of the spiritual life of the Soviet people is a comprehensive process made up of the following basic elements:

The growth of the communist consciousness and sociopolitical activity of all population strata on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist view of the world and direct participation in the management of production and public affairs and in the expansion and improvement of socialist democracy;

The development of education and science;

The expansion of the interaction and mutual enrichment of the cultures of the fraternal national republics and the establishment and reinforcement of all of the new qualities and general features of the unified culture of the Soviet people;

The intensification of the international and patriotic indoctrination of the laboring public, especially youth. The indoctrination of Soviet people in the

spirit of patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism is inseparable from the principled struggle against all types of nationalism, chauvinism, regionalism and ethnic nihilism.

These and other tendencies in the development of the Soviet people's spiritual life are closely interrelated to the economic and sociopolitical spheres of the daily life of nationalities and ethnic groups, are based on them and actively influence the rates and scales of their progress. This is why the growth and convergence of ethnic cultures and the reinforcement of their interaction can familiarize Soviet people with the richest sources of domestic and world culture and serve as an important factor in the improvement of socialism and a source of new momentum for the accelerated socioeconomic development of the USSR.

The basic guidelines of the nationalities policy of the party and Soviet state, defined in the new edition of the CPSU Program and in the materials of the 27th congress, provide conclusive evidence of its continuity, of our party's class loyalty to the fundamental principles of Lenin's nationalities policy (international unification with completely equal status and respect for national traditions and distinctions), and of its creative development and its consistent and unwavering implementation. Continuity and innovation in matters of theory and historical practice are the foundation of the truly scientific nature of the party's official objectives and secure the highly active and dynamic nature of the social policy, including nationalities policy, and activity of the CPSU.

The new level of the socioeconomic development of socialism also advances new priorities. The role of ethnic factors and the fundamental approaches to them were clearly and concisely defined by M. S. Gorbachev: "As long as nationalities exist, new problems will arise when they live and work together in a single multinational state. The most important problems of the current stage of its development are connected with the efficient distribution of productive forces and their continued integration in the common national economic complex, the stronger interaction and mutual enrichment of cultures, the intensification of inter-ethnic communication, the hiring and placement of personnel in the center and in the republics and, of course, the indoctrination of laborers of all nationalities in the spirit of the invincible principles of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism" ("Zhivoye tovorchestvo naroda" [The Vital Creativity of the People], Moscow, 1984, p 31).

The historic experience accumulated in the establishment of the international unity of laborers, the further consolidation of the friendship of nationalities on this basis, and the maximal reinforcement and development of the Soviet multinational state constitute the productive and societally tested means of the continued flourishing of our multinational socialist motherland.

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CULTURE

VOROTNIKOV MARKS STATE ORCHESTRA ANNIVERSARY

LD211145 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1635 GMT 20 Nov 86

[From a scheduled concert relay; speech by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at festive soiree on the 50th anniversary of the USSR State Academic Symphony Orchestra in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory on 20 November--live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Today we are marking a significant event of our country's cultural life. The State Academic Symphony Orchestra of the USSR, the celebrated musicians' collective, is 50 years old. [applause] This collective has rendered great services to the people, the Communist Party and the motherland and for this it is receiving the order of the Labor Red Banner. [applause] We are honoring, in essence, the main symphony orchestra of our country, which over the whole of its half century history, has been retaining its devotion to high humanistic ideals, presenting people with joy and an opportunity to have contact with the precious heritage of classical music and advocating as a passionate propagandist, the best examples of modern realist art. Music which is heard in the talented performances of the orchestra stirs in man good and bright feelings, the feeling of love for one's homeland, faith in a better future, enriches and enhances people's spiritual outlook. The orchestra is thereby actively assisting the aesthetic and moral education of the people.

Its audience is not only the audience of concert halls and theaters. Thanks to radio and television its audience is the whole of our enormous country, which has entered a new stage of its development. The whole of Soviet society, the whole of its political, economic and cultural life, are at present on the move and in the process of being renovated, while consistently implementing the strategic course of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, a course geared toward restructuring and acceleration and toward an innovative approach to complex economic, social and cultural problems. One may rightfully say that our creative intelligentsia has enthusiastically welcomed the ideas of the party congress and its directives and is making a worthy contribution to the noble cause of forming the high-developed and spiritually rich individual.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government pay constant attention to the comprehensive development of literature and art. A number of decisions on matters of principle have been only lately adopted, which are creating a new

prospect for the musical, cinematic, and fine arts. The All-Union Music Society and the Soviet Culture Fund have been set up. The constituent congress of the Union of Theatrical Societies of the USSR will soon take place.

The party and state concern for the development of culture inspires our creative intelligentsia. But at the same time this concern presupposes the most active participation of each artist in the struggle for the new qualitative state of Soviet society and for the restructuring of the home we all share, the home in which we live and in which a new generation will live.

The services that the State Symphony Orchestra has rendered to the construction of Soviet musical culture are great and magnificent, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich used to say. Brilliant technique, splendid orchestral discipline, expressiveness and artistic quality, the fulfillment of artistic projects and the high quality of sound--these are the distinctive features that have made it known as one of the best symphony orchestras of the world. The State Academic Symphony Orchestra of the USSR is well-known and loved not only by people in our country. Its art, which brings people the ideals of peace, a high sense of humanity and friendship between peoples, has been applauded by the listeners of dozens of countries of the world.

The debut of the State Symphony Orchestra took place in October 1936 here in the Great Hall of the conservatory. It is pleasing to say, esteemed comrades, that today there are those among us who were present at the initial establishment of the orchestra and its coming into being. Let me greet the veterans wholeheartedly. [applause] From the very start of its creative path the orchestra has been in the thick of musical events in the country. On 12 October 1940 it was given the honor of opening the new concert hall which was named after the great Russian composer Petr Ilich Chaykovskiy.

But there will also always remain in the history of the State Symphony Orchestra the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War. The collective's performances in front of units of the red army, in hospitals and kolkhozes, in the workshops of factories and works raised the spirit of people and inspired faith in them in our victory over the enemy. The orchestra greeted the unforgettable victory day with a concert on the Manezhnaya square of the rejoicing capital.

In the postwar years, the scale of the orchestra's activity grew, its repertoire was renewed and supplemented, its tours took it ever further afield, and its playing skill and reputation grew. The names of many splendid musicians who at various times worked in the collective are associated with the creative biography of the State Symphony Orchestra. Major conductors such as Golovanov, Mravinskiy, Melek-Pashayev and Samosud worked with the orchestra. Igumnov, Nezhdanova, Oistrakh, Obukhova, Gilels, Richter, Pirogov and Kozlovskiy performed with the orchestra. Prokofiev, Khacaturyan, Gliere and Kabalevskiy stood at the orchestra's conductor stand. Shostakovich, Khrennikov, Shchedrin and others played solo parts for their own works with the orchestra. It is a well-known fact that the creative creed and level of

mastery of the collective are to a great extent determined by the personality of its leader. At various times the orchestra has been led by such splendid Soviet musicians as Aleksandr Vasilyevich Guak, Natan Grigoryevich Rakhlin and Konstantin Konstantinovich Ivanov. Since 1965--for more than 20 years now--the USSR State Symphony Orchestra has been led by Yevgeniy Fedorovich Svetlanov. [applause]

The brilliant talent of this chief conductor, artistic director, composer and pianist and his high degree of musical culture have organically merged wth the wealth of traditions and playing skill of the celebrated collective. An outstanding conductor and exponent of Russian and Soviet music, Yevgeniy Fedorovich Svetlanov embodies the traits of an artist whose work is always addressed to the people. For his great services to the development of Soviet musical culture he has recently been awarded--yes you will know--the lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labor. [applause]

Comrades, the State Orchestra, which is at the peak of its artistic glory, remains full of creative energy and new plans. There is no more elevated and noble calling than to seek and find in art sources of inspiration, to share them generously with the people and to bring ever new generations into contact with music. And it is a fine thing that you see this as your mission. There is no doubt that the splendid collective of the orchestra will vindicate the trust of the party and people and will continue to bring joy to its listeners with new, brilliant, talented works. [applause]

Comrades, permit me to proclaim the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: for its services to the development of Soviet musical art, the USSR State Academic Symphony Orchestra is awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner. [applause] [words indistinct] Signed Gromyko, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium.

Permit me, dear comrades, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet government, cordially to congratulate the collective of the orchestra on the lofty award, to wish it fresh success, and to carry out the instructions to present the order to the orchestra. [applause]

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CULTURE

MINISTRY OF CULTURE ISSUES GUIDELINES FOR THEATER EXPERIMENT

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Culture has drawn up and approved authorizations and specifications for performing a multifactor [kompleksnyy] experiment to improve the management and increase the efficiency of theatres.

Artistic Councils

The statute entitled "On the Artistic Council of a Theater Participating in the Experiment" stresses the fact that the council will function continuously, providing a democratic and open forum through which the entire company of the theater will participate in the resolution of the most important issues concerning the theater's activities and in the development of its ideological, aesthetic, and social program of development, and through which the creative workers will achieve consensus with regard to the artistic principles of socialist realism.

The main tasks of the artistic council will include using every possible means to assist in the theater's creation of performances of great civic significance and artistic merit, and providing the necessary prerequisites for full realization of the capacities and potentials of each performer, director, conductor, artist, and other creative worker.

The composition and selection procedures of the artistic councils have been changed. The councils will include the head of the theater (the artistic head in theaters where this position exists), the chief director (in musical theaters, also the chief conductor, chief ballet-master, and chief choirmaster), the secretary of the party committee, the chairman of the trade union committee, and the secretary of the comsomol organization. The remaining members will be elected at a general meeting of the theater's company. The meeting has the option of choosing to use either open or secret ballots in this election.

Individuals who are not on the theater's staff, such as literary, artistic or scientific figures, representatives of creative unions or societies, industrial workers, or members of cultural agencies may also be elected to the artistic council.

The artistic council will select its chairman by an open vote. As a rule, the chief director will serve as chairman, but if the council considers it necessary, it can elect the head of the theater as chairman.

The functions of artistic councils will expand considerably during the course of the experiment. This is related to the fact that the theater has been given the right to make its own independent decisions, especially in the area of repertory development. One of the artistic council's new functions will be to participate in developing the ideological and creative conceptual basis for the theater's activities and the social development program for its company, as well as for the production of new works and their public performance. Other new functions of the councils are of no less importance, such as those involved in reviewing plans for the repertory, strengthening cooperation between the theater and playwrights, monitoring the quality of the performances in the current repertory, and also determining the composition of the theater's company.

If it does not agree with the opinion of the artistic council, the management of the theater can submit a question to the consideration of a general meeting of the entire membership of the theater, whose decision will be final.

Repertory

The repertory will play a decisive role in the theater's fulfillment of its ideological/artistic and educational functions. The tasks to be performed by the workers of the theater in developing the repertory and the organizational principles to be followed in creating new works have been formulated in the statute entitled "On Procedures for Developing a Repertory and Monitoring the Quality of Performances of Theaters Participating in the Experiment."

This statute emphasizes that the repertory of a theater reflects the ideological/artistic and social/political maturity of the company, and demonstrates the responsibility with which the management and artistic council are performing the tasks that have been entrusted to them.

Under conditions of the experiment, the planned repertory will be reviewed by the artistic council upon presentation by the theater's management and will be ratified by the theater's order, and not by the cultural agency to which the theater reports. Each theater works out a long-term plan for new productions over the next two years, which covers the generation of new works on contemporary themes through creative contacts with playwrights, commissioning and acquisition of plays for new productions, work on performances commissioned by government order of the Ministry of Culture, and staging of the classics of Soviet and foreign drama. The texts of the new works created by the members of the company, working in cooperation with playwrights, will be submitted by the management of the theater directly to the appropriate organization to obtain permission for public performance.

The procedure by which new performances are approved has also been simplified. The director presents the production to the theater's artistic council. The council then reaches a decision about whether the work may be presented. If

the decision is affirmative, an order approving the new production for showing is issued to the theater.

If the artistic council concludes that the production requires further work, the individuals who have staged it must implement the recommendations received and present a second showing.

Under conditions of the experiment, the fact that the theater has made an autonomous decision to present a production to the public enhances the personal responsibility of the theater's management for the artistic level of the new productions, the ideological and other thematic tendencies in the repertory, the way the troupe is used in it, and the quality of the performances in the current repertory.

In order to further strengthen the bonds between theatrical companies and playwrights, the USSR Ministry of Culture and the ministries of culture in the republics can, upon request by the theaters, allot to them the funds to enter into contracts with playwrights or to acquire existing ideologically and/or artistically significant works. The USSR Ministry of Culture and the republic ministries of culture may also issue government commissions and reimburse production expenses incurred by a theater which has expressed the desire to stage a particular play. A company which has created a production of high ideological and artistic merit may be awarded a bonus.

The management of the theaters, working with the artistic councils and workers of the theater, must develop a program of ideological/artistic and social development for the workers before the experiment begins. They also must ensure that by 1 December of this year the membership composition of the artistic councils accords with the new stipulations.

Management Performance Evaluations

The USSR Ministry of Culture, in coordination with the USSR State Committee on Labor and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, has ratified a statute entitled "On Procedures for Evaluating the Performance of the Managerial Staff of Theaters Participating in the Multifactor Experiment." The goals of the performance evaluation are: to ensure the most successful realization of the capabilities and rights granted to theaters by the conditions of the experiment and to increase the responsibility of managerial staff. Beginning in October 1987, the performance of chief directors (artistic managers), chief conductors, chief ballet masters, chief artists, chief choirmasters, and heads of the theaters will be evaluated.

Managers of workers in academy theaters will be evaluated by a commission of the USSR Ministry of Culture. Theaters which report to the republics and oblasts will be reviewed by commissions of the union republic ministries of culture. Members of these performance review commissions will include leading masters of the theater, playwrights, composers, theater critics, theatrical administrators and economists, and managerial staff of the ministries of culture and trade union agencies.

A report will be compiled for evaluated workers which will take due regard of the opinions of those working under the managers.

Theatrical managers who have been evaluated and deemed unfit for the position they occupy may, with their agreement, be transferred to other work by the supervisory agencies in accordance with established procedures no later than two months after being reviewed. Workers who do not agree to the transfer, may be relieved of duty in the same timeframe.

Material Incentives

The USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee on Labor and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions have ratified "Methodological Instructions on Procedures for Planning, Financing, and Providing Economic Incentives for Theaters Participating in the Multifactor Experiment."

This document stipulates a significant reduction in the number of plan targets to be set for the theaters by the cultural agencies standing over them. Now there are to be only three such targets: the size of the audience served, the quota for wage fund growth, and the amount of the state subsidy. The theater will set all other targets for itself.

An important factor here is the fact that the state subsidy to the theater is to be fixed for the entire period of the experiment at the 1986 plan level. This figure may, however, be adjusted if changes occur in the conditions under which the company works require additional expenditures for reasons unrelated to its performance (e.g., because of a move to another location, or change in the price of materials, etc.).

The theaters will receive the full financing allotted by the subsidy, and whatever sum they can save (or profits earned over and above the plan) will remain at the disposal of the theater and, according to the ratified specifications, will be used to start an economic incentive fund.

Planning of the wage fund for primary jobs will change radically. This target will be set by the theater itself on the basis of the amount of growth in income compared to plan income of the previous year. A range of standards for increase in the wage fund going as high as 0.7 for every 1 percent increase in income has been set. The precise standard set will differ as a function of the specific conditions under which the theater operates. Within the constraints set by wage fund as calculated in this fashion, the theater will determine for itself the number of personnel it will employ.

The experiment substantially expands the circle of workers who can receive bonuses from the wage fund. Those eligible include performers, other creative workers, specialists in certain categories, office workers and junior service personnel. All workers in the theater will be awarded bonuses on the basis of their work during a given quarter in an amount of up to 1.2 times the salary of their post including established increases and additional payments.

During the course of the experiment, economic incentive funds will be established in the theaters, including a creative-productive and social development fund and an incentive fund. These funds will be formed from the assets remaining in the current material incentive system and from the supplementary income anticipated in the theater's plan.

The assets in the creative-productive fund and the social development fund will be used for improving the equipment and facilities of the theater, for expenses incurred in staging new productions, for increasing the theater's own working capital, for housing and living expenses, and other needs as determined by the workers of the theater.

The assets in the incentive fund will be used to reward the theater's personnel for the overall results of a year's work, to give one-time awards to workers for their contribution to the creation of productions of high ideological and artistic merit, to grant financial aid to members of the theater, and also to award bonuses to the management personnel of the theater.

The heads of the theaters participating in the experiment have been given the right to supplement the wages of individual workers by a sum of up to 50 percent of the salary of their posts. Performers will be awarded increases for active creative work, while engineering and technical staff, other specialists, and clerical workers will receive awards for high levels of achievement on their jobs.

When a theater attains a high level of performance, the cultural agencies to which the theaters report have been given the right to supplement the wages of managerial personnel by a sum of up to 30 percent of the salary of their posts.

To ensure that the innovations introduced by the multifactor experiment are put into practice in the most effective way possible, the USSR Ministry of Culture is specifying appropriate job tasks to be performed by various categories of workers in the theaters and cultural agencies participating in the experiment.

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CULTURE

AKHMATOVA'S LIFE IN TASHKENT DESCRIBED

Tashkent ZVEZDA VOSTOKA in Russian No 7, Jul 86 (signed to press 5 May 86)
pp 169-179

[Article by Nina Tatarinova: "Anna Akhmatova's Starry Shelter"]

[Excerpts] "The Motherland Gave Us Refuge"

November of 1941. A lowering sky stooped down upon the earth, ready to rain down all manner of misfortune. As if there were not already misfortune enough on our native land, where war had swept away villages, cities and human lives. Everyone and everything was on wheels. Men going west, to the front. Women, children and old people going east, to the rear.

Tashkent opened its arms to plants, military hospitals and orphaned children. The city shared with them its warmth, shelter and bread. No matter where people were hurrying to, they would stop in front of a loudspeaker when they heard Levitan's voice. They listened intently, with bowed heads. They lived and worked for the front.

That was why when someone said to me: "Anna Akhmatova is in Tashkent. Would you like to meet her?", I did not at first understand the question. When I realized what was being said, I was not immediately aware of the honor being bestowed upon me. "I would be embarrassed to visit a world-renowned poet without being acquainted with her poems," I thought. And the few meager lines which I did know — "Created from your rib, how could I not love you?" — provoked consternation and even hostility in me: the idea that I, a Komsomol girl (!), could be created from someone's rib seemed humiliating to me.

At that time I did not know that Akhmatova's words had helped Leningraders: speaking from a Leningrad radio studio, it was she who said "I, like all my fellow citizens, live solely by the unwavering belief that Leningrad will never be fascist; we know that all our land and all its people are with the citizens of Leningrad."

I did not know that in those days filled with mortal danger Anna Akhmatova had written prophetically:

The enemy's banner fades away, like smoke;
The truth is with us, and we shall be victorious.¹

I also did not know that she had stood nighttime watches, dressed in a quilted jacket and carrying a gas mask over her shoulder, that she had sewed sandbags, that she had helped extinguish the enemy's incendiary bombs.

That is why mere curiosity was what motivated me when I replied affirmatively to the question.

We met at a house on Karl Marx Street, Number 3, where Anna Akhmatova had temporarily taken up residence. On the lower floor of the house was the waiting room of Yuldash Akhunbabayev, president of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet. From morning to night it was filled with crowds of gloomy people. Silent, they often smoked, never moving from the formal entrance.

I was led past the waiting room along a narrow, dark corridor leading into the interior of the building, where a staircase with narrow steps suddenly appeared out of the thick gloom. Up above, in the garret, some office was located. Pay was handed out through a little window in the wall. It was in this cashier's room that Akhmatova was being housed.

Today that building is no longer standing. It was razed after an earthquake. Now it is impossible even to find the exact spot where it stood under the shade of maples, silver poplars and rare trees bearing a tag reading "Protected Tree!" But at that time, in 1941, the house with the garret room became Anna Akhmatova's first refuge in Tashkent. Or rather, not the whole house, just the cashier's little room.

The room, which was filled to the very ceiling with bright sunlight, was dazzling after the dimness of the stairway. Although I had never even seen a photograph of Akhmatova, I intuitively recognized her, immediately picking her out from among other women sitting around with some kind of sacks, into which they hurriedly began to thrust something as soon as they saw me. My companion introduced me, and after the customary greetings I withdrew and stood by the window. The women once again turned their attention to their sacks, but now they took out their contents. I stood with my face half turned toward the window, so as to be able to see Akhmatova better without annoying her with my curiosity.

From the window I could see flat metal roofs thickly covered with dust. The bare trees, the lowering sky: nothing to delight the eye. I looked around the room. A bare plank table stood in its center. To the left of the entrance stood a "little bourgeois" [type of stove] with a black elbow of stovepipe above it. Against the wall some distance from the stove was a short, narrow, improvised couch which consisted, as I later learned, of trunks covered by a piece of worn fabric, as well as an iron cot with low headboard and footboard, which stood against the other wall, opposite the door. The severity of the furnishings was relieved solely by the soft light of the

southern day and cleanliness. That was not the way I had imagined the abode of a poet, even during wartime! These thoughts were interrupted by loud exclamations.

"Stand up, stand up, Anna Andreyevna!"

The women moved aside all of a sudden, pausing to adjust something, making admiring sounds, and when they were no longer in the way I was dumbfounded: Akhmatova stood there in full stature. From her shoulders hung a robe of regal brocade. Her magnificently raised head, broad forehead, the nobility of which was not concealed by "the satin of her Parisian bangs," and her large, deepset eyes: they were not merely eyes, they were orbs — they gazed with aloofness, severity and calm. The robe was not new. The brocade shone with the dull warmth of celebrations long past.

"Does it look good?" asked Anna Andreyevna, looking at me with a peculiar gaze, as if she were not looking at me but rather into me, into my soul.

"Yes," I replied, "very good!"

The women fussed about, saying how nice it looked: "It's you! Buy it!!"

Akhmatova was silent. She glanced at the table and at the dull darkness of the coal which lay right beside it, on the floor by the stove.

"No," she said. And with a single motion she tossed the robe off of her shoulders...

"Just try to create something like that out of a rib!" I mused, thinking about Akhmatova on the way home. At the moment I was not worried about Adam's rib. Forget him and his rib! What interested me was something else: what would Anna Akhmatova say about the war, about Asia and Tashkent, and how would she say it? Could she, a Leningrader, accept the East?

My interest in Akhmatova grew greater as my excuses to visit her became fewer. Especially at first I could never bring myself to go see her without a reason. Fortunately, Anna Andreyevna's door opened each time in response to my quiet knock. Behind that door lived pain for the "most pure body of the earth" of besieged Leningrad.

"Have you heard the news report?" she would ask each time, just as soon as she had greeted me. Anna Andreyevna did not have a radio. But she always knew the Soviet Information Bureau report to the letter. She could remember the name of every populated place which had been captured by the Germans or liberated by us.

Her eyes grew animated when the reports were good, and she pressed her lips together firmly in a peculiar way when our forces retreated to "positions prepared in advance." Anna Akhmatova never had any doubt that we would be victorious. I, who had seen my husband off to the front, lived with the grief

of war like millions of other women. But Anna Akhmatova's pain was both deeper and more courageous. I learned that from her, listening to her recite "The Vow":

And that I say farewell to my beloved today —
May that pain be forged into strength.
We vow to the children, vow to the graves,
That no one shall force us to submit!

Soon Anna Andreyevna was moved to another house, this time on Zhukovskaya Street, No. 54, which was spared even by the earthquake. It was razed much later, during a general renovation of the city. A bank stood next door to it. The irony of life: first a cashier's room and then a bank, while Akhmatova had no money at all. As she moved from one street to the other, even farsighted Anna Akhmatova did not know what the new house would come to mean to her.

A steep wooden staircase with 19 rickety steps led to a spacious garret which had been divided into two rooms of unequal size. Bright windows without blinds or even curtains looked out on a "mangalka courtyard" [named for a type of cookstove]. A magnificent mulberry, a slender apricot tree and the silver moon of Asia adorned Akhmatova's garret, the principal furnishings of which were a large table on sawhorses and equally plain benches placed around it and along the wall beneath the windows. Anna Andreyevna called this room her dining room, although the meals served there were seldom and meager.

The dining room communicated with a narrow room shaped like a pencil case, with a single window. There, alongside a plywood partition, with its head to the window, stood a bed. Some distance from it, in one corner, was a small piece of furniture looking like a cross between a table and a stool. Spread out on it were a small mirror, a strand of large black beads, a bottle of cologne, two or three books and pencils. Anna Andreyevna did not have a desk either here, in the garret, or later downstairs, where Ye. S. Bulgakova lived before Akhmatova. ("In this room a certain sorceress lived before me: her shadow is still visible on the eve of the full moon.") I never saw Akhmatova writing. She said on more than one occasion that "poems float through the air!"

No one knew how she caught them.

Once Korney Ivanovich Chukovskiy, who was living in Tashkent at that time, came to the house to see a female relative. But before going up to her room, he stopped some distance off and excused himself to me, saying:

"Please wait for me. First I will go see Anna Andreyevna for a little while." And away he went with a hurried, bold stride. "Well," I thought to myself, "I am lost: now I will have to wait and wait! They will start talking and forget about me. But just at that moment the door opened, and Korney Ivanovich's ample form, clad in a linen shirt, appeared in the opening. Stooping so as not to hit his head against the ceiling, he came over to me

and, raising his index finger and wagging it meaningfully, said right at my ear: 'Don't believe anyone who tells you that Akhmatova is sick. Those are the times when she works!'"

And it was true, I thought: Anna Andreyevna would often lie concentrated and silent, as if listening to something. The lack of paper was a problem. Incidentally, since paper was scarce then, she wrote on anything that came to hand.

Akhmatova had not yet taken a look around, had not grown accustomed to this place, her new apartment, or Uzbekistan.

She still called all of that a temporary residence, meaning not only for herself, but for all the thousands and thousands of other evacuees as well. It was no coincidence that in her work at that time the word "I" was replaced by "we" for the first time in all her long years as a poet.

During those years of common misfortune, Akhmatova began to speak in the name of everyone and for everyone. It was there, in Tashkent, that Anna Akhmatova's civic voice was heard for the first time at full volume.

Akhmatova never made the rounds of the editorial offices, never offered her poems or appearances. Unfortunately, the Tashkent Radio Committee does not possess any recording of her voice. But, when invited, Akhmatova never refused to appear, whether at a military hospital or merely before the literary circle at the Pioneer Palace.

Poetry lovers gathered as if for a holiday for one of those appearances, which took place at an annex across the street from the Pioneer Palace on Karl Marx Street. There were many young faces there, and elderly people came, too, seeming like patriarchs to us, and school children from the upper grades. There were not enough seats for everyone. Many people stood. The audience buzzed softly. Akhmatova came out, and everyone was silent. Slender and composed, she approached the table with a light step and asked before beginning to read: "May I read sitting down?"

Of course she could! She had come the whole way — a good 10 blocks — on foot. Anna Andreyevna sat down on the table. She put on her glasses. I never again say Anna Andreyevna in glasses, either in Tashkent or in Moscow. Farsighted, she did not wear them at home, much less on the street. Akhmatova opened up a fat all-purpose notebook with black oilcloth covers, perhaps one she had begun in Leningrad. Its ragged, turned-down corners were puffed out fatly. And then in a young voice filled with restrained energy Anna Akhmatova asked us:

Birds of death are overhead.
Who goes to the aid of Leningrad?

It was the voice of a warrior, not a weeper.

Pushing his way to the front, Georgiy Efron, Marina Tsvetayeva's son, listened to the verses. His severe blue eyes burned with resolve. Who knows, perhaps

it was in that very hour that his decision to go to the front was made. One thing is documented: Georgiy Sergeyevich Efron, a private in the 437th Rifle Regiment, 154th Rifle Division, died in battle in Latvia, near Daugavpils.

The most difficult thing of all is reading one's own poetry. Anna Akhmatova read it superbly. Each word, spoken unhurriedly and distinctly, rang out forcefully. The poet's voice, rich in intonation, expressed cold alienation one moment, then bitterness the next, then a cry of alarm could clearly be heard. That was the sound in her poem "Courage," with which Anna Akhmatova opened her poetry anthology "Selected Works," published by the "Sovetskiy pisatel" Publishing House in 1943 and printed by a Tashkent print shop. I received a copy of that book from Anna Akhmatova's own hands, autographed by her: "To Nina Pushkarskaya with all my heart. A. A. Akhmatova. 3 June 1943, Tashkent." Rose petals had been laid between the pages. Anna Andreyevna loved roses.

"The White House on Zhukovskaya Street"

The house at No. 54 Zhukovskaya Street, built before the revolution, looked no different than hundreds of others. Unpretentious brick ornaments and a formal entrance, the latter nailed tightly shut during the war years. People entered through a wicket in the broad gates. On its front side the house was protected from the rumbling of wagons and trucks by tulip trees. All summer long they bore light violet flowers.

Also living there were Vladimir Lugovskoy, Abdulla Kakhkhar, Yelena Sergeyevna Bulgakova and Kseniya Nekrasova. But for me it was first and foremost Anna Akhmatova's house. She attracted my attention like a magnet, due to her unusualness and dissimilarity to any of the people I knew. She had a wave of hair gathered up at the back of her head, a high forehead and huge fascinating eyes, so deep and all-seeing. I cannot recall even a single dress which Anna Andreyevna wore. Her face would outshine any costume, much less the washed and rewashed chintz dresses of the war years. However, nothing human was foreign to her. I well recall how I came upon Anna Andreyevna and Nadechka engaged in what seemed to me, young as I was, a very strange activity. Both were seated, leaning on the table with their elbows, gently scratching their faces with their fingernails. When I asked them why, they answered: "You're too young for this." I went into the other room and began to read. But when they called me back, I discovered that both women's faces looked fresher.

One can see that young, lively face of Anna Akhmatova's in a drawing by artist A. G. Tyshler, done in 1943. She is seated, wearing a light-colored outfit with narrow dark stripes. Young, feminine and festive.

"Today is my name day," she told everyone, "the siege of Leningrad has been broken."

No one ever saw her wear that outfit, just like the bangs, which Akhmatova did not have while she was in Tashkent.

"Where are the bangs and the clothes from?" I asked as I admired the drawing. I did not hear any answer to my question. Probably from the same place as the severe dress which everyone saw Akhmatova wearing at a soiree at the Sverdlov Theater given for the benefit of evacuee children. Only now do I realize that Akhmatova at that time did not have a single decent dress in which she could appear in society. Putting together several comments, the meaning of which had previously been unclear to me, I now came to the conclusion that in emergencies Faina Georgiyevna Ranevskaya borrowed costumes from the theater's wardrobe department for Anna Andreyevna. Or more likely it was the wardrobe manager herself who did so, as she was especially persistent in making the acquaintance of Anna Andreyevna.

At that time all that did not interest me. "If you think about it," I told myself, "everyone is poorly dressed — it's wartime!"

I was interested in something else, something which was the source of obvious envy. One time I found out that there in the garret room, in the "pencil case", an unprecedented literary convocation was to take place: Anna Andreyevna, Faina Georgiyevna and Nadechka would read Mikhail Bulgakov's prose work "The Master and Margarita." That was what gripped me with envy! Nadechka answered my mute plea thus:

"Impossible! Yelena Sergeyevna is loaning us the manuscript for one night only. And we are forbidden to give it to anyone else."

And I would have swooned for joy. But that "impossible" was ironclad.

In the poem "The Mistress," which is dedicated to Yelena Sergeyevna Bulgakova, Akhmatova says: "I am not one of those who is under the sway of others' spells, I am myself... But I also do not reveal my own secrets for free." I received one of Akhmatova's secrets for free. I needed to see Nadechka, but she was not at home. "Nadya will be back soon. Wait for her," called Akhmatova from her "pencil case." I sat quietly, thinking about which of my most urgent tasks I should do that day. And suddenly it felt like a wave of heat had struck me: "The cards! Where are the bread ration cards?!" I remembered specifically that I had taken them with me when I left the house so that I could buy bread on the way back home. Quietly, remembering that Akhmatova was working, I opened my briefcase. The cards were not in the side pocket. Fear gripped me in waves. "I have lost them," I thought, feeling a chill run through me, "I have left my family without bread for a whole three weeks!" My heart was beating as if it would burst. I sat spellbound, staring stupidly at my briefcase.

"What has happened?!" Anna Andreyevna suddenly asked.

When she heard my reply she came out to where I was sitting in the "dining room", sat down on the bench opposite me and, looking at me intently with her large, intense eyes, she said: "Look for them."

I involuntarily began looking through my papers once again, realizing the utter hopelessness of what I was doing. "I have already looked. I've gone through everything."

"Look for them!" she exclaimed in a severe, imperative voice. Submitting to that voice, I continued to search. But a strange thing happened! I suddenly felt calm flowing into me. It came from without, pushing out my embarrassment, confusion and fear. Struck by this feeling, I lifted my head and met Akhmatova's keen, intense gaze, which was fixed upon me. "Can that be where my calm is coming from?" it suddenly occurred to me. For a moment we looked into each other's eyes. In that moment Akhmatova realized that I had discovered one of her secrets: the secret power of her gaze.

A moment later, after looking in the pocket of my briefcase (as I had already done so many times already!) I found what I had "lost" and showed it to Anna Andreyevna. She stood up and left the room just as silently as she had entered.

What had happened? To this day I do not know. Only one thing is sure: I felt her power upon me.

Akhmatova's kindness was limitless. She was able to share the last thing she possessed with others better than anyone I knew. I realized this in that same white house, where I saw Kseniya Nekrasova for the first time. Kseniya's dress hung ominously slack. Her straight, thin hair, gathered in a bun at the back of her head, left her thin, greyish, plain face, with its full, always moist, projecting lower lip, exposed on every side. She had a quiet voice, and spoke few sentences, pausing a long time between words. I asked if Kseniya were ill.

"No," I was told.

The war had taken from Nekrasova everything, even her table, but it had left that which could not be taken from her: her gift.

I believe that Kseniya Aleksandrovna was well aware of the value of her poems. That may be why she came to Akhmatova straight from the train station. When she had warmed herself, Nekrasova said: "I will... live... here." First of all she asked Akhmatova for a mattress: "I will sleep... right here... on the floor." I do not know where this would have ended (Akhmatova, on account of her Christian meekness, would have given Nekrasova her last thread). Fortunately, Kseniya Aleksandrovna was placed in a nearby room which had become vacant.

In Anna Akhmatova's house the terms "young poet," "venerable poet" or "beginning poet" were not looked upon favorably. The latter expression, which contained a certain element of condescension, was not used there at all. The torment of poetic muteness, of words that would not come, the eternal uncertainty of oneself ("And every poem is always the last one"): all of these are equally as tormenting to an adolescent as they are to a grey-haired poet.

Kseniya Nekrasova had not produced a single collection of poetry. She had written the poems "The Furnace," "Blind Man," "Autumn," "February In the Mountains" and others, as yet unfinished. Those were sufficient to ensure her

complete acceptance by Akhmatova and all of us. It is no coincidence that it was precisely these poems written in Tashkent which comprised the heart of Kseniya Nekrasova's first book, entitled "And Our Land Is Wonderful."

We came to the white house on Zhukovskaya Street at the calling of our hearts, so that our souls could be engrossed in the natural forces of their native land and get their fill of listening, looking and taking it all in. Poems more than anything else were infectious in their strength and helped one live through the most difficult times of the Great Patriotic War. There we heard poetry by Pushkin, Blok, Osip Mandelshtam, Yevgeniy Baratynskiy and Innokentiy Annenskiy. Akhmatova's "dining room" became a unique school for me, where without lectures or exhortations, as if my tastes were molding themselves, I developed exactingness toward what I wrote and persistence in the search for the precise, unfettered word.

We read our own poetry incomparably less often. And we did not even dream of having it published. The sole literary annual which was published in Tashkent was overflowing with works by famous writers. How could we ever win a place in it? Anna Akhmatova was unable to help any of us. She felt that her name could not do anything for us but cause trouble.

It was there, in the courtyard of the white house, that I first saw Vladimir Aleksandrovich Lugovskiy. He was standing there in the middle of the courtyard, his face with its bushy eyebrows turned toward the sun. He was tall, tanned and straight, wearing striped brown pajamas. I would have liked to have overcome my shyness, paid my respects to him, spoken two or three words with him. But my loyalty to Akhmatova was supreme. For some reason it seemed to me at that time that to pay my respects to Lugovskiy would be to betray Akhmatova. Furthermore, he had not yet written his "Campfires," which I found so striking.

Quite a few people came to see Anna Andreyevna. Some sat with her for a long time, others came by to express their admiration, like Korney Ivanovich Chukovskiy. The wife of Uzbek poet Timur Fattakh, whom Akhmatova had taken under her wing, was a frequent guest. "Maksuma is good," she would say. And Maksuma was indeed good, kind and sympathetic. Endowed with natural tact, she also radiated calm, perhaps because she had never known any in her own life.

Once we heard an unfemininely low voice from outside the door: "Can I come in?" I looked at Anna Andreyevna uncomprehendingly. She nodded her head. I was about to get up and see who was there, but at that moment the door was flung open wide and on the threshold there stood a tall woman in a far from new, yet elegant, dark-blue English dress with narrow light-colored stripes. She had large, bright, expressive eyes and a large face. Everything about her seemed large, visible and ample.

"Who is that?" I quietly asked.

"The best Vassa Zheleznova: Faina Georgiyevna Ranevskaya."

I only knew her from the movie comedy "The Foundling," in which Ranevskaya had played the role of an stout, imperious wife. With lightning speed she would

cut off every objection by her weak husband, even the as yet unspoken ones, with a single phrase: "Mulya, don't annoy me!" Ranevskaya spoke those words so that there was no doubt in anyone's mind: a thunderbold would be unleashed at even the feeblest objection, and nothing would remain of the head of the family. The comedy itself was weak, but the words "Mulya, don't annoy me!" became a catchphrase around Tashkent, and Faina Ranevskaya Tashkent's most popular and beloved actress. That was why, when a militiaman detained Faina Georgiyevna at the Alayskiy Bazaar, where she was selling some of her things, like many people did during the war years, and took her to the militia station, the little Tashkent boys ran along behind Ranevskaya shouting: "Mulya! Mulya! To the m-i-l-i-t-i-a station?!"

More and more children joined the procession. They were already waiting on the porch of the militia station, ready to defend her. They only dispersed after Faina Georgiyevna came down the steps safe and unharmed and quickly hid herself.

It often happened that Ranevskaya would be saying some humorous phrase, and we would already be laughing before she finished. We would try to stop, but it was impossible. Only Akhmatova did not laugh. A smile would appear and freeze on her lips. A bitter smile.

How much grief was in her? Why did everyone protect Anna Andreyevna so carefully? Perhaps older people know, but do not say. Akhmatova's silence was older and more persistent. "Think for yourself, observe, seek. Read her poetry — it's all there," I told myself. But there were no books by Akhmatova in the library. "Maybe someone took them and did not return them, or maybe they don't loan them out, like they don't loan out collections by Sergey Yesenin," I thought, and asked Akhmatova. She said: "I do not have any of my own books," and I had to turn to the older generation in Tashkent, to the memories of poetry lovers. Little by little the lines, verses and whole poems of Akhmatova revealed the tragedy of the woman, mother and poet: "For your sake I gave up my firstborn, and I ask nothing in return; since then I wear the rags of orphanhood like a wedding gown" (1921). "I looked neither to the right nor to the left, but a bad reputation rustled behind me."

So that was it! — "the rags of orphanhood" and "a bad reputation": the payment for her poet husband.

What else? I found the answer much later, in the memoirs of Margarita Aliger: "I clearly recall her (Anna Akhmatova's — N.T.) voice, a sort of cold and withdrawn voice... And how could it be otherwise at that time, at the beginning of 1940, when her son was no longer with her?..." "And a word of stone fell on my still living breast..." When I read that poem, I did not understand their its meaning, probably out of habit regarding "a word of stone" as lover's speech. Yet she was talking about something else altogether.

"Who knows," Akhmatova asks the reader, "how empty is the place where a tower has fallen, who knows how quiet is the house to which a son did not return?"

There are also poems by Akhmatova about her reputation, which "lay in the gutter for 20 years." Is that not a tribulation for a poet? What will, what strength must be required, what unfailing love of life, to withstand the blows of fate?! And at times fate brought her to the limits of her endurance. How else can one explain this line written by Akhmatova: "But my pride is coming to an end; like that other sufferer, Marina (M. I. Tsvetayeva -- N.T.), I shall have to learn emptiness." Anna Akhmatova accepted the blows of fate one after another, without yielding, in solitary struggle.

What did Akhmatova's victory cost her? Anna Andreyevna could not stand pity: "For a long, long time now I have not liked to be pitied..." And so that people would not pity her, she held high her bitter head. She pressed her unsmiling lips more firmly together. Only when she was alone could she bow her head and "converse with" her "indomitable conscience." When Anna Andreyevna's son Lev Nikolayevich Gumilev asked her: "Mama, don't behave like a queen," perhaps he alone knew what vulnerability was hidden there behind Akhmatova's imperious countenance.

Thus Akhmatova progressed from her youthful thirst for happiness through the fear of death (for many years Anna Akhmatova suffered from tuberculosis), and through the tragedy of life and the blows of fate. And, in her own words, she became "stronger than anyone in the world."

However, the strength which Akhmatova gained was not due only to her keen farsightedness or her ability to rise above her trials and tribulations and stand higher and wiser than those troubles, but also to the times in which she lived, that "harsh era." In her "Third 'Northern Elegy'," which was also written in Tashkent, Akhmatova spoke of this.

I had the opportunity to hear those verses read by Akhmatova herself. I well recall that the final line was different: "I would probably die of envy." That line was false, because envy was an emotion which was foreign to Akhmatova. In addition, the first syllables were all run together and sounded something like "Yabumerlo..." [instead of "Ya b umerla ot..."]. Akhmatova continued to search, trying out different variations. And I listened and was amazed at that time, due to my youth: "How long can one search?"

"As long as one must!" was the harsh reply.

I later read in a book the final line which she had found to fit precisely. It was piercing and embodied the sort of wisdom of which, as M. Aliger writes, "...only a very great person is capable of, a very strong and independent mind, pitiless with itself, with its day-to-day human existence and with human frailty."

"Those Lynx Eyes of Yours, Asia"

I had the opportunity to walk through the streets of Tashkent with Anna Andreyevna. She walked lightly along the brick sidewalks of that time in her dark claret-colored suede shoes, which Faina Georgiyevna Ranevskaia had acquired for her with considerable effort. The elegant shoes were not

concealed Akhmatova's by unfashionably long clothes. The turned-down fur collar of her worn brown coat revealed her long neck. A light curl of hair combed upward cast a shadow on the paleness of her brow. Many people considered Akhmatova tall. In fact she was only a little taller than the average-sized woman. But her magnificently elevated head, the stateliness of her slender figure and her long dresses all made her appear taller.

Silently, with concentrated attention, Anna Akhmatova looked at the outlines of the city, listened to the water in the irrigation canals, breathed the scent of the roses she loved, and seemed each time to measure herself against the Asian sky, so unaccustomedly high for her. She loved to look at the poplars and thickly piled elms which reached up to the blue of the sky. At that time they had not yet been cut down on Revolution Square. Asia suited Anna Akhmatova's spirit.

Through the hardships of war, through her anxiousness and pain for besieged Leningrad, the East involuntarily penetrated Akhmatova's soul, conquered it and was transformed into poetry.

During Akhmatova's time in Tashkent not a day would pass without her speaking of Leningrad. From there she received news, sometimes about Olga Berggolts, sometimes about the defenders of the city. Once she received India ink drawings on a quartered piece of thick writing paper, scenes of besieged Leningrad: exhausted Leningraders drawing water from the Neva River, climbing over mound of ice; anti-tank barriers at the Kirov gates; a bomb shelter, and people's emaciated faces, with the gleam of hunger in their eyes; and the final journey — a girl pulling a sled bearing a body sewn into a sheet. I do not remember who the artist was, but the power of those drawings moved me. I looked at them with tears in my eyes. Akhmatova's face seemed to have turned to stone. Sadness was clearly visible in her large, greenish-grey eyes. It was Asia that comforted her.

In Anna Akhmatova's last elegies, the ominous roar recedes ever farther, and sounds ever more distantly. The East appears clearly.

All will again come back to me:
The scorching night and languor
(The word Asia wanders through my dream),
Khalima's nightingale song,
And the biblical narcissus' flower,
And an invisible benediction
Rustles like a wind across the land.

The Uzbek woman's name mentioned here was not merely a colorful device. By no means! Akhmatova, who had heard many great singers in her time, liked the voice of Khalima Nasirova, an opera singer famed in Uzbekistan.

One poem written in Tashkent has a specific address; it refers to the house on Khoroshinskaya Street where Anna Akhmatova celebrated her first New Year's in Tashkent with the family of composer Aleksey Fe'dorovich Kozlovskiy. The lady of the house, Galina Longinovna, traced Akhmatova's clearly "patrician profil" with a black pencil on a white wall as a remembrance of their dear guest.

If Anna Andreyevna had known that that house would be destroyed by an earthquake, she would undoubtedly have said: "You see, everything which ends up in poetry is lost." She would have been mistaken.

Anna Andreyevna's Tashkent friends loved her. They all attempted to beautify her life with music, flowers, humor and kind words. I carried an invitation, written with Akhmatova's consent, to the other side of the city to the pianist Yablonovskiy, a wonderful performer of Chopin's music. Previously unacquainted with Akhmatova, he enthusiastically consented to the request and played for Anna Andreyevna.

Aleksey Fe'dorovich and Galina Longinovna Kozlovskiy were frequent guests of Akhmatova's. Her house was filled with their jests, witticisms, laughter and recollections of Kiev, which was singularly dear to them. The flowers in Akhmatova's room grew greater in number, the farther the front line moved westward.

In June of 1943 I, too, roamed through the city in search of flowers. I needed a bouquet of satiny dark-red and white roses. There were no such flowers on sale so I, hunting up the address of Polyakov, one of the city's famous flower growers, rushed to where he lived. When he heard my request, Polyakov said:

"It is impossible to make up a bouquet like that."

"What? Even you refuse!"

"The roses are not blooming now," said the old flower grower, throwing up his hands. "Come see me in July."

"But Anna Akhmatova's birthday is today."

Polyakov's eyes grew warmer, and his voice softened.

"Wait here, please," he said, "and I will go see what can be done."

He was gone for a long time, but when he came back he had a bouquet in his hand!

"Where did you find such a wonder?!" asked Anna Andreyevna as she was accepting my birthday bouquet. Not a smiling person by nature, she smiled then. Her beautiful face seemed younger and brighter.

"Miracles are happening," said Anna Andreyevna. "I was walking along with Faina Georgiyevna. We met up with two fleet officers and when they came abreast of us, just imagine, one of them snapped to attention and saluted me, not just for form's sake, but in earnest. "This is Anna Akhmatova," he said to his companion. I heard it. So did Faina Georgiyevna. She said: "This is the first time that someone has recognized you and not me!"

Akhmatova talked about this encounter willingly and at length, explaining: "I took a good look at that officer, and I am fairly positive that I have never seen him before."

Akhmatova was preoccupied with that encounter for a long time. Two years later, back in Leningrad, Akhmatova once again met the unknown man. And, although he was wearing civilian clothes, she recognized him. It turned out that he was Leningrad writer Yefim Seme"novich Dobin, who had been passing through Tashkent in 1943 and had recognized Akhmatova from pictures.

That day we drank red wine and ate fruit. Anna Andreyevna reminisced and told us how persistently Olga Berggolts had invited her to come and visit. "And I went, like a heifer!" she said humbly. Everyone laughed, but I gasped: before me sat not the great Anna Akhmatova, just a simple-hearted woman. Her unfeigned simplicity was hidden beneath grandeur. Arrogance, conceit and insolence were all foreign to Akhmatova.

Anna Andreyevna also came to visit me. The day we were to meet was agreed upon in advance. I was counting on receiving my pay about that time and being able to receive my guest decently, if not lavishly. But I was not paid on time. On top of that I fell seriously ill. The table, it is true, was covered with a fresh tablecloth, but there was not a speck of substantial food in the house. I could not pull something to offer Anna Akhmatova out of thin air! She had treated me to a compote with slices of mandarine oranges to drink. The taste and aroma of this dainty were wonderful, perhaps because Akhmatova had prepared the compote according to a recipe known to her alone. I had never before nor have I since eaten anything like it. I even remember the apricot pit which I placed directly on the clean boards of her table, but which I should have put in my glass. Anna Andreyevna noticed my faux pas, but gave no sign of it, and I was embarrassed for a long time afterwards.

Now I looked with despair at my empty table, and felt terrible. Yet there remained joy as well: it was there that Akhmatova had stood. Over there she sat down. In this room with its large window her voice had sounded, her poetry had breathed. Since the earthquake my house is perhaps the only house which still preserves a trace of Akhmatova's life in Tashkent.

I recall Anna Andreyevna's impression of my gift. Nadechka, smiling broadly, accepted it from me. She laid it on an earthenware platter in a tall heap and called Anna Andreyevna. When Akhmatova had barely crossed the threshold she froze where she stood, looking at the heap of large, golden, ruddy apricots.

"Help yourself, Anna Andreyevna."

"What, do you mean that these may be eaten?!" she asked, not taking her eyes off the platter. They were late apricots. During the long while it took them to ripen Nadechka and I had called the tree an old fool; did it not know that it was wartime and that we were hungry, and waiting anxiously for the time when we would eat our fill of its fruits? Still we waited and waited.

"How much did you pay for them?" Anna Andreyevna asked me.

"Not a cent! I climbed up in the tree and gathered its harvest."

Akhmatova looked at Nadechka, who nodded her head approvingly. Only then did Akhmatova begin to eat.

I am grateful to her; no one spoke of Tashkent like Akhmatova did. However, it would be wrong to think that Akhmatova's Tashkent years were only happy ones. There she suffered a serious illness. At that time she was over 50 years old. At that age is serious to have even angina, much less typhus. At that time people recalled the name of the great dramatic actress Vera Fe'dorovna Komissarzhevskaya, who died tragically while performing in Tashkent. "Can it be that Tashkent will also be Akhmatova's final refuge?" I thought, growing cold.

The struggle for the poetess' life began, a struggle which included physicians, the Uzbekistan Writers Union and Akhmatova's Tashkent friends. Fortunately, the illness passed. But during those anxious days Anna Andreyevna was gravely ill.

I noticed that during the most difficult moments in her life Akhmatova turned to colloquial speech: "Better for me to rock your baby, and give you fifty kopecks a day," "My husband beat me shamefully, with a strap folded in two" or "Orphans of Piter [Leningrad], my children."

This cycle of poems was written by Akhmatova in Durmen at a dacha where she was sent, still weak from her recent illness, by the republic Writers Union.

And in my memory, like in a patterned box:
The grey smile of an all-knowing mouth,
The noble folds of a funeral turban
And a royal dwarf — a pomegranate bush.

In her Tashkent poems Anna Akhmatova astounds with her rare integral perception of Asia. Where does that come from? From the keenness of her poetic vision? But can mere keenness of vision, no matter how acute, explain her almost native perception of the East?

The lynx eyes of Asia, the farsightedness of which surpasses Akhmatova's own poetic vision, saw in the native St. Petersburg something which was close to them, something akin, related by blood. And not just on account of the keenness of her poetic sight, because "It was as if all her ANCESTRAL MEMORY flamed into her consciousness like scorching lava." That is what it is! It was not merely the instinctive ancestral memory which guided Anna Akhmatova's pen, but also its scorching lava. What is there, behind the lava of ancestral memory, which so alarmed and irritated the poet's soul? Think of the poem "A Name":

The Tartar name, bristling,
Came from nowhere,
Clinging to any misfortune,
A misfortune itself.

Was this Tartar name which "came from nowhere" in fact one chosen at random or invented (Anna Andreyevna's real last name: Gorenko)? That is doubtful, because in one of her poems Akhmatova states directly:

I received rare gifts
From my Tartar grandmother.

It is difficult to imagine that Anna Akhmatova would give up truth about life in favor of rhythm. And in that case this northerner's particular interest in Asia, her almost instantaneous poetic acclimatization and the integral precision of her depiction of the East become understandable. Such precision that it would seem that Akhmatova was born not in the Ukraine, but in Uzbekistan. There is a reason why the Asiatic moon recurs like a refrain in Akhmatova's Eastern poetry.

Perhaps the centuries will delineate between the southern night of Anna Akhmatova's ancestor and this mysterious Tashkent night with its oppressive heat and smell of purple wisteria. But the hallmarks of that night which is receding across the centuries and this Tashkent night are unchanging: the roundness of the moon, the oppressive heat, the earthenware bowl, water and stillness, the great stillness of the East, in which the poet captures something very close to herself and yet, at the same time, distant. It was thence, from the past, that "the eyes of the centuries" came to rest on the poet. This feeling appears "out of the darkness of Rembrandt's corners" and "conceals itself there as well," in the darkness of incomplete memory. What is this? Her own childhood, or perhaps Asia's childhood? Here there is undoubtedly a connection between the past and the present. Akhmatova captured this connection between times with surprising insight.

To Be Concluded

FOOTNOTES

1. This and all subsequent poems are quoted from A. Akhmatova's book "Beg vremeni" [The Course of Time], "Sovetskiy pisatel" Publishers, Moscow and Leningrad, 1965.
2. A friend of Anna Andreyevna Akhmatova.

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CULTURE

CRITIC PONDERS LOSS OF YOUNG WRITERS

PM111021 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 December 1986
Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "If Truth Be
Told....Novels That Are the Subject of Argument" the 3,500-word concluding
part of V. Lakshin's article discussing Chingiz Aytmatov's "The Executioner's
Block" [Plakha] and Vasiliy Belov's "Everything Is Still To Come" [Vse
Vpered].

Following a lengthy examination of Belov's book and a brief summing up of the
two works, Lakshin concludes:

"But no matter how exactingly one treats Aytmatov's and Belov's latest works,
these are books of today which attract the attention of today's reading
public.

"Let us, after all, be frank about it: Out of everything that our journals
have published or promise to publish soon, many people are attracted by the
section on the literary heritage, on works left behind in drawers, forgotten
and uncollected. Of course, everything valuable from the works that have not
been previously published for various reasons must be made available to readers.
We must finish reading (and publishing) the still unpublished works of
Platonov and Bulgakov. We must also become familiar with all the best works
written by other underestimated masters. This is a normal process for
enriching culture--literature and society do not become poorer through it,
they become richer. But suppose we have read all this heritage completely, we
have critically assimilated everything. What happens then?

"One cannot live with just the memory of the past, just as one cannot live
without any memory at all. There are two extremes: hasty and clumsy pursuit
of the present and lack of feeling for one's time.

"It is far more difficult but also more essential to discover new spiritual
energy and hear the voice of young Soviet literature. It would seem that,
without noticing it, we have missed (or lost?) a whole generation of young
writers. Literary criticism still treats as young those in their forties,
anyone under the age 50. Where are our 20- and 30-year-old masters of the
pen, novelists and poets who would gain not just local or parochial popularity
but unionwide popularity, like Sholokhov and Pasternak in the twenties, like
Tvardovskiy and Simonov in the thirties, like Yevtushenko and Trifonov in the

fifties? Even Aytmatov and Belov were just about 30 years old when they became major literary figures in the sixties.

"What has happened--has our land ceased producing major artists, or is it simply that we have not discovered them, not supported them, not paved in good time their way to journals and the writers union? This is, in my view, the fundamental problem of our immediate literary future. And so, in Belov's words, 'everything is still to come.'

"And one more point. The demand for publicity, for open public discussion of complex and acute questions, which has already become customary with regard to many state concerns, economic tasks, and ministries and departments, appears to be--strange as it may seem--more difficult than anything else for the literary press and literary criticism. One would think that the 'literary department' is the most immune, the one with a firmly established hierarchy of rank.

"Of course, no one has a monopoly of the sole true opinion of a novel or a poem. But such opinions must be voiced without evasion and without considerations of prestige. Arguments in literature have always been the norm of its life, and this is twice as correct today.

"The literary critic is a fellow comrade and not a servant of the writer, nor is it his purpose to serve the tastes of individual groups of readers. His work--within the limit of his strength and ability--is to serve the truth and thus serve the people themselves, the reading public. To use the latest vocabulary, literary criticism is a stage in the 'extradepartmental acceptance' of literary output. And the final judgment will be passed by the greatest critic--time.

"As for our specific subject of literary criticism, one would like to believe that Granddad Krylov was right when he wrote his fable about the difference between real and artificial flowers: 'True talents do not rage at criticism. Only false flowers fear the rain.'

"Time works to the advantage of profound art. It gives hope for unexpected flights by already famous masters and, even more so, by new and as yet totally unknown names--the young generation of artists of the written word."

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SOCIAL ISSUES

ESTONIAN DOCTOR PROTESTS ANTI-ALCOHOL MEASURES IN THEATERS

Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 17 Oct 86 p 12

[Article: "Variety Show--the Root of All Evil?"]

[Text] There is no place for heavy drinking in our lives. This is the majority opinion. This is my conviction, being a doctor. On my part I have done everything in my power, to explain through lectures and public speeches the essence of drinking as a social vice, the effect of alcohol in destroying one's health and ruining one's personality. I enthusiastically welcome those measures which limit the availability of alcohol.

Yet one cannot agree to this: blaming the spirited variety shows for this and cutting their opening times to midnight as a result? Against the background of the general anti-alcohol campaign, this question naturally sounds discordant.

The variety show is not an ordinary drinking place, let alone a place where drunkards would convene. The variety show fills a role in our spare time. One cannot deny a certain educational influence of the variety show--and that is not only limited to the programme. For going to the variety show takes preparation, the selection of suitable clothes; the variety show presupposes a certain kind of behaviour; also, the special mood prevailing in the hall is educational. A bar or a coffee bar may entice one to leave the straight and narrow but the variety show is full of the sense of occasion. One does not drop in here passing by, in order to find illusory relaxation in alcohol, after a hectic work day. One does not come here to quench one's thirst for spirits; there are other, cheaper and more accessible opportunities for that. One attends the variety show, in order to spend time in a cultured way. It is an opportunity to tear oneself away from everyday life, to put to the test one's ability to behave in society, to try out a different role from the everyday one. The variety show is a spectacle, with the audience also having to fulfill its role. And no seekers of a chance drinking place would enter the variety show theater; instead, these are people who have beforehand planned to go and even obtained tickets. The variety show theater is not a public house--that is probably clear to everybody. In a certain sense, one can even speak about the variety culture. The [paper] 'SIRP JA VASAR' has repeatedly discussed variety shows in Tallinn as a phenomenon in our cultural life. Visitors to Tallinn have been in raptures over our variety shows.

Up to now the variety show has also been a place where one could spend a longer than usual evening, which for that reason also made it more festive. When the variety show theater was open until three, nobody had to stay till the end, as the show, after all, finished by midnight. Now, however, we have gone so far that the variety show theater is reduced to being a programme which is squeezed in time, plus an hour before (to adapt oneself to the atmosphere) and an hour afterwards (to get ready to leave). Those who are as quick as lightning can perhaps even have a dance. Indeed, the possibilities for alcohol overconsumption are now minimal. If the waiter moves fast, the client may receive a cocktail before the beginning of the programme, and afterwards there will be just enough time to pay the bill. And the whole variety show atmosphere--original, spirited, slightly pompous, festive, and even awe-inspiring--has been reduced to a vaudeville with a bar where one has no time at the end of the show to even digest one's impressions. A doorman is standing behind one's back already, twiddling the keys. Is there any point to the variety show in this form, if it has, in fact, lost its face, its influence, its meaning? A hasty look at the show and out?

Decades ago bitter experience demonstrated that a mere rigid ban is not a suitable means in the anti-alcohol campaign. In order for the one too many to remain sober, one needs to offer something else to the potential drinker. This has been specifically demanded in the directive documents of the party and in the relevant government resolutions: to create more opportunities for spending one's spare time in a cultural and healthy way, to extend the network of sports facilities, to develop the activities of clubs, amateur activities, and to create opportunities for hobbies. But what is being offered in place of the variety show? A house of culture with a dance evening for the middle-aged?

The need to prevent consumption of alcohol between midnight and 3 am is understandable, but it should have been possible to find a different way; for example, discontinuing orders for alcohol after midnight and offering only alcohol-free drinks, cocktails and juices (after all, drinking places are being redirected towards alcohol-free drinks). As a half-way solution, it could also have been considered to raise the price of alcohol after midnight, even several times over.

If variety shows are the root of the evil (being entertainment of a dubious sort and a lightweight genre), let us close them down altogether. Will the cognac or champagne not be drunk because of that? Restaurants are still working at full strength and those variety show fans who came in search of a drop of cognac are just a handful. Because of a few people who are fond of vodka, we have deprived the people of Tallinn and visitors to our town of an opportunity to spend a jovial evening; we have pushed out into the street many a couple at midnight, who instead of spending a couple of hours in the variety show theater, are now searching for a park bench in the dark.

Perhaps it would still have been more appropriate to start limiting the offer of alcohol elsewhere? For example, quite a few restaurants could be alcohol-free also in the evening. If the alcohol seekers disappeared from behind the

doors of some restaurants, there would at last be the possibility to simply have a meal and a little rest in a restaurant without having to negotiate the question of entry in a tete-a-tete with the doorman (and of course to his benefit).

The work field of the anti-alcoholism struggle is large if it is not being approached in a restricted sense. Take the problem of perfumery. Already in the morning, just as the cosmetics shops open, the daily clients appear. The rule of a 100 grammes is invalid here. There are no lawful grounds for refusing the purchase of a couple of bottles of "Frigo" even to the client who is drunk. One can go for varied perfumery cocktails. The prices are favourable; the difference between a French cognac and a home-produced fragrant water is simply a matter of taste. Even if the taste of some fragrant liquid is not to one's taste, one can put up with it for one is dealing with 70 percent pure spirit, after all.

The anti-drunkenness struggle should first of all be directed against those who are unaffected by the spirits' plague. A chronic alcoholic, however, is a sick person for whom alcohol has become a necessary link in the metabolism of the organism. It is impossible not to drink. And even those few who come into the variety show theater just for a couple of hundred grammes of cognac will find opportunities to fill up elsewhere. They will manage somehow. However, we, the rest of us, are as good as being without the variety show.

The blow which was aimed at drunkenness and drunkards has this time surely missed.

Viktor Vassiljev, doctor [medical]

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REGIONAL ISSUES

LATVIAN NOTES UNJUST CHARGES OF NATIONALISM

PMI41419 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 November 1986 carries on page 3 a 2,500-word Riga-dated report by Yanis Peters entitled "I Believe Because I Am Involved" and carried under the "Sense of Being a United Family" rubric.

The author writes of the "international fraternity" of the revolutionary struggle in which Latvians have taken part. He describes his primary duty as a Latvian poet and Communist as being to "maintain the interests of my people, Latvian culture, language, and literature in close contact with the lasting values and ideals of all our multinational state." He then criticizes "zealous officials at all levels in Latvia for whom the Latvian peasant's traditional style of life meant little. The actions of those people, who misinterpreted the ideas of internationalism, also caused serious damage to our national culture and led to an undervaluing of its lasting values.

"That did not mean that we had no honest, ideologically untarnished workers, although some of them too had to wage an unequal struggle against bureaucrats and hedgers. The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum cleared the way for the truth and gave people loyal to the party's moral code the opportunity to continue the lifelong cause. I will cite just a few of them.

"Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Nikonov, who held the post of Latvian SSR agriculture minister, charged with nonexistent sins and tarred a 'Latvian nationalist,' was forced to leave the republic. We know today that our former minister went to Stavropol Kray after Latvia, and he is now president of the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

"Karlis Ozolinsh, member of the underground during bourgeois Latvia's existence, partisan in a Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Latvia operational group during the Great Patriotic War, and later editor of the newspaper TSINYA and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, was undeservedly forgotten. Not until the summer of 1985 was the Latvian Communist's principledness properly evaluated, when he was awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples. Karlis Ozolinsh, member of the USSR Writers' Union and writer on current affairs, on receiving this award, whose very nature is the complete antithesis of the charges once leveled against him, said very simply: 'This is the happiest day of my life.'

"Edgars Kaulinsh was during the difficult postwar years of the class struggle a party organizer in Liyelvardskiy Rayon and later became founder and chairman of the 'Lachplesis' Kolkhoz and a Hero of Socialist Labor. During the 'corn crisis' Edgars Kaulinsh did not breach traditional crop rotation in the Baltic region as instructed. And if he sowed corn, he did so where any visiting officials could see. Now, after his death, his life and work have become the embodiment of the fate of a peasant in new, socialist Latvia. E. Kaulinsh's autobiography, written in collaboration with the writer P. Baugis, is one of the most widely read books in the republic.

"Oyar Vatsiyetis holds the title of People's Poet of Latvia and is a winner of the USSR State Prize. He is the conscience of Latvian literature. There was a time when, to put it mildly, he was condemned to 6 years of enforced silence, his books not being published for exactly that length of time. But I can also remember another moment in that poet's life. I was returning with him from a celebratory soiree devoted to the works of Aleksandr Chak when he, on being informed of the death of Tvardovskiy, cried quietly and unrestrainedly, leaning his burning brow against the window of the Moscow-Riga express. And the tears and grief of that great Latvian poet remain for me today, in the expression of another Russian writer, a moment of truth in the apprehension of both human and social relations. At the Eighth USSR Writers Congress I could see them together in my mind's eye--Tvardovskiy and Vatsiyetis, Pasternak and Shushkin, Abramov and Dumbadze, who have left us, but remain immortal."

Acknowledging the long haul in overcoming backwardness in Latvia's economy and culture that still lies ahead, Peters goes on to note changes since 1985. He states that Latvian writers are "fully determined to overcome timidity and inexactingness and a tendency to stay silent about shortcomings and accept half-truths." He then continues: "We must resolutely repudiate speculation concerning Latvia's demographic problem, with which those in the West who helped spill the blood of Latvians, young people and men, into the cloaca of World War II amuse themselves. Vile nationalist propaganda did in fact help cut the republic's population, not to mention the family tragedy caused when one brother fought against fascism in the units of the heroic Red Army or the underground, while another was enlisted in Hitler's ranks, and a third perished in a concentration camp because he shared the ideological stance of the first, and a fourth--a minor--was forcibly taken to Germany, and now, far from his homeland, lives the miserable existence of an emigre. The repercussions of such tragedies are felt to this very day."

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REGIONAL ISSUES

BRIEFS

TASS CLAIMS INCREASED ESTONIAN BIRTHRATE--Tallin, 28 Nov (TASS)--For the first time in the postwar years the birthrate in Estonia has exceeded the deathrate. "As recently as in the 1978-1980 period the deathrate in the republic exceeded the birthrate," a TASS correspondent was told by the Estonian demographer Arvo Kuddo. But in 1982 there was a positive breakthrough in the republic's demographics. The birthrate has risen mainly as a result of the increased number of marriages of men and women in the 20-24 age bracket--for this indicator Estonia is considerably ahead of Sweden, for instance. While in 1980, 22,204 children were born in Estonia, in 1983 the figure was 9 percent higher, Kuddo reported. A great role in this is played by the social policy of the state. Low-income families having three and more children, for instance, are given substantial material aid--clothing and footwear are given free and benefits are paid. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 28 Nov 86 LD] /9599

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